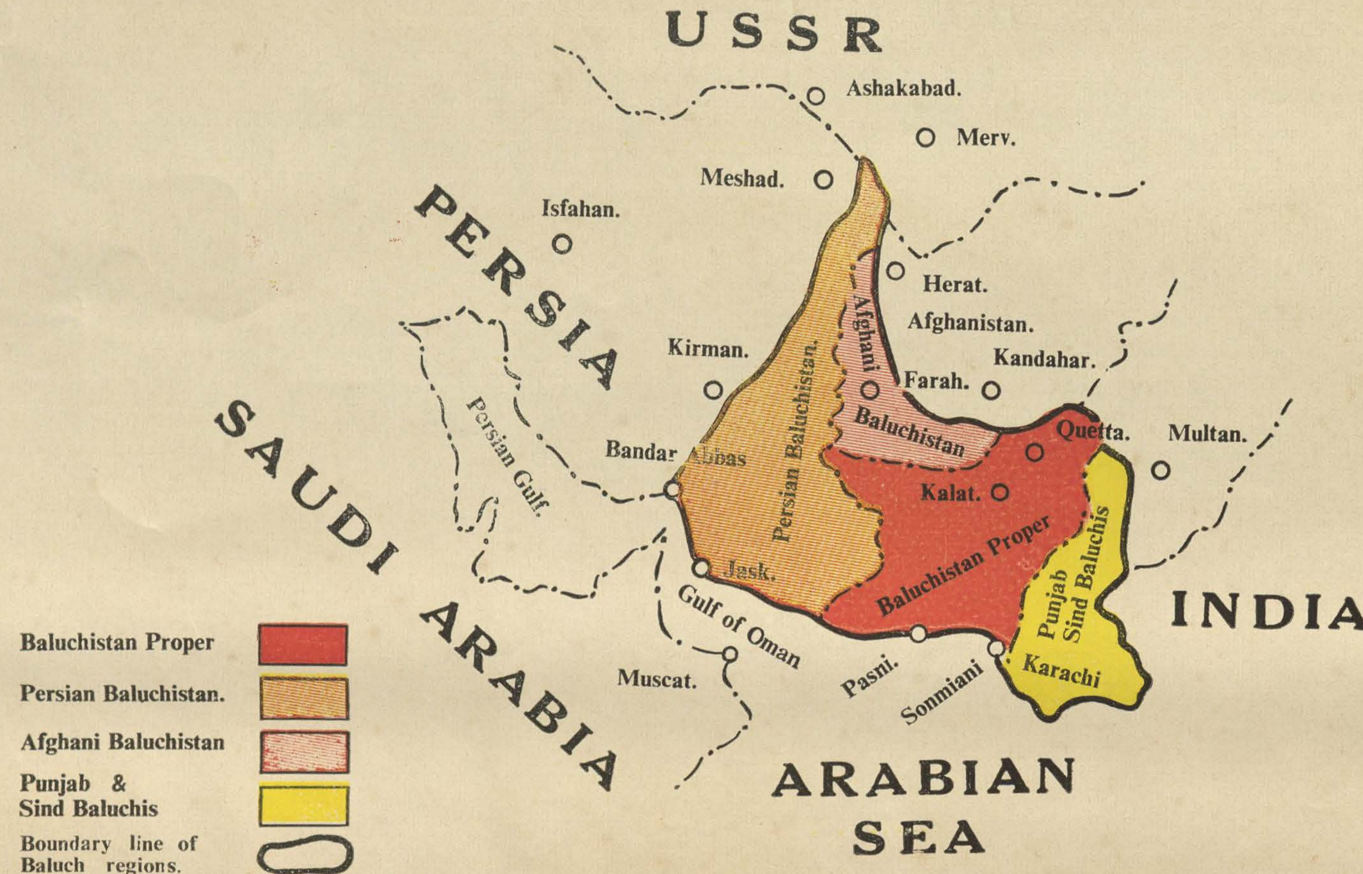
BALUCH

BY

M. S. KHAN BALUCH



Total Area of Baluch regions — 3,400,000 sq. miles approximately.
Baluch sea coast from Bandar Abbas to Sonmiani = 960 miles.
Baluch Population = 1,80,00,000 (Eighteen million)

MAP OF BALUCH REGIONS

سپاھی زگرداں کوچ و بلوچ

سگالیدہ جنگ مانند غوچ

فردوسی

HISTORY

OF

BALUCH RACE

AND

BALUCHISTAN

By

MUHAMMAD SARDAR KHAN BALUCH
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To the distinguished heroes of Baluch history

Ameer Chākar Rind († 1555 A. D.) and

Ameer Fateh 'Ali Khān Tālpur († 1802 A. D.)

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PROEM

This work is a perfect attempt to tell the story of the Baluchis and Baluchi-speaking peoples from the earliest times to the fall of the British Empire in the Indian Sub-Continent. It has been a grave negligence on the part of historians that no history, hitherto, exists of a race, eighteen millions in number and peopled over an extensive and a compact territory of little less than three and half lakhs square miles in Asia, holding several strategic key points. Very little was known about the origin and nature of the race and country. Perhaps no Country or race equal in size and number to the Baluch territories and race has received so scant attention even to the present day as have Baluchistan and the Baluchi speaking people. The most progressive nations of the world are consuming fabulous sums in exploring the peaks of the Himalayan range and wildest parts of Africa than they have done anything worthy of note about this race and country which is no less enchanting and mysterious, besides its strategic value.

Some of the British scholars enterprised to write the history of the race and the country but their pen could not traverse beyond the region of folk-lore traditions, and, hence, their works proved good as fiction instead of history and they failed badly to add original research or colour to the lost story of this historic race.

Facts and figures are an insult to the Baluch mind and as such no authentic record exists among the indigenous populace. The race since the glimmer of history seems to feel more pleasure and satisfaction in the saddle than at the scholarly desk, and is not endowed with the pen of the meditative writer. The history of the race, therefore, is still preserved in vague traditions and literature in ballads which survived to us by oral traditions from generation to generation in crude form, undated and unheeded. The nomadic life of the race has given a nomadic colour to their history, which is mainly a history of migration, feuds and forays. The troubles, therefore, in writing this book are only known to the author and on which it is unnecessary to enlarge. In writing the book, the author had to move to various seats of learning in collecting authentic fact and references. No stone has been left unturned in the completion of this work, and no authentic book dealing somewhat about the race has been left, unread or unquoted. It is through incessant investigation and uninterrupted labour of more than a decade that forms the material of this book. To the honourable readers, the author boldly says in the words of Voltaire, 'Remember what books I have read, in order to save you the trouble of reading them, and be thankful'. It is necessary for a true historical work to embrace events and incidents of every des-

cription-cultural, social, ethical and religious. The present work is a compendium of Baluch history, culture and thought. Many facts, unknown heretofore, have been brought to clear light of history. None of the students of history has succeeded, hitherto, to reveal the much disputed mystery "Who are the Baluchis?" The obscurity that so far shrouded the Baluch origin is disenshrouded to the entire satisfaction of the scholars and cultivated layman. The distorted versions of the various historians concerning the origin of the race are refuted with full authenticity. It is definite that truth resides between two extreme opinions. A historian ought to be impervious to fear, indifferent to reward or praise, impartial and unbiased. As such, I might have annoyed some individuals directly or indirectly but truth is anyhow inevitable and the sole aim of this work is to tell the future Baluch generation the rigid and real facts of their history, for it is certain that education is easier than re-education. The present research presents innumerable keys to unlock the mystery looming over the Baluch history. History is and must be an unfinished story. I have raised the Baluch historical edifice, and it remains for the future students of Baluch history to give it the last slight touches.

Let the Baluch people read their history, recollect the past, review the present, resign to unity and discipline and resolve for a glorious and firm future.

I shall be grateful to the honourable readers to overlook if some mistakes have been committed through *lapsus Calami* while writing this book. Whatever mental gifts or special aptitude a man may be born with, he cannot learn the art of writing from the cradle.

In the end, to Ghulam Muhammad Shāhwāni who was kind to read through the proofs, my thanks are due.

Karachi

Dated, 16-8-1958 Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch.

CHAPTER 1

ORIGIN OF THE BALUCH RACE

The origin of the Baluch race remaind so far an insoluble riddle of history. It was a hard nut to be cracked by historians. During the middle of the nineteenth century, a knot of British diplomats[1], interested in literary pursuits, essayed individually to undo this historical knot but in vain. No serious attempt was ever made by any scholar of repute to unfold the riddle—who are the Baluchis? This is a term which has not been finally disposed of, as in course of time the term Baluch has lost any ethnological significance that originally might have attached itself to this term. The memory and consciousness of their national distinction is preserved in a crude form by their own traditional genealogies, which appeals least to the discerning scholar. The antiquities of the race are imperfectly recorded and have become more obscure and perplexing by controversial opinions. As regards their origin, nothing has been worked out with certainty so far by anthropological and historical enquiries. One cannot exactly trace their origin merely by following the language of the race or by the faint evidence derived from their traditional legends.

The term Baluch as explained in Burhāni Qāti, means in the Persian language as 'cockscomb', or 'crest'. The crest borne by Baluchis as alluded to in Shāh Nāmeh Firdausi, faintly explains the etymology of the name. Lala Hetu Ram asserts in his 'Baluchi Nāmeh' that in Halabi language (Allepian) dwellers on the skirts of the hills and mountains are addressed as Baluch[2]. Few concluded that the word Baluch is the compound of Sanskrit 'Bal' and 'Ocha' which means 'most powerful'.

Different historians present various aspects of a case according to their prospect of research, mental capacity and illumination. Sir Henry Pottinger compared them to the Turkomans and denied all their resemblance to the Arabs[3]. "His appearance" writes Sir Burton, "bears little resemblance to that of Ismail's descendants. The eye is the full, black, expressive Persian, not the small, restless, fiery Arab Organ; the other features are peculiarly high, regular and Iranian and the beard, unerring indicator of high physical development, is long and lustrous, thick and flowing[4]."

1. Sir Burton, Sir Henry Pottinger, Sir T. Holdich, Col. Dames and Col. Mockler, etc. belong to this group.
2. Douie's translation of Baluchi Nāmeh, p. 115. The 'Baluchi Nāmeh' is a mere fiction of the author's mind. The facts are based on the authority of the tribal minstrels and story tellers. The historian's confusive description of events has confused his own vision. It is, therefore, of utter insignificance when brought to the test of hard facts and figures.
3. Pottinger's Travels in Baluchistan, pp. 268-269. The Baluch race has no lineal consanguinity with the Turkomans. Due to the long settlement of the race with the Turkoman tribes in Kirmān, Khurāsān, and Seistān Provinces, the former imbibed some of the Turkoman traits, both in custom and language. Their predatory spirit and nomadic notion of life akin to the Turkomans, has probably misled Henry Pottinger to class them with the latter.
4. Burton's Sind Revisited, 1877, Vol. II, p. 159.

Sir T. Holdich published an article on Baluchis under the title "the Arabs of our Indian Frontiers[1]". Mr. Kennedy gives his opinion that they are the descendants of Sakās who settled in Drangiana and later on gave it the name of Sakastān (Sijjistān), the modern Seistān.

Dr. Bellew[2] vaguely attempted to connect them with the Rājputs but his attempt doomed to failure. To assert that Baluchis are Rājputs is surely a bold assertion and such a sweeping observation is very wide of the truth. Loose and inconsequent conjectures fulfil no function in history. On the contrary, it remains as a horrible crime against historical accuracy. He would have been right to some extent to have remarked that some of the Rājput tribes incorporated with Baluchis whereby losing their previous nationality. His research then would have received universal assent. He identifies the name Baluch with 'Balliacha', a clan of the Chauhān Rājputs. His conclusion mainly rests on the similarity of the sounds and not on any historical evidence or on the philological grounds. The Chauhān Rājputs were never heard occupying the Indus Valley, either in the Punjab or Sind. Dr. Bellew also holds that the Baluchis were originally only a branch of the race known as Rind, a name which he deduces from the Rann of Kach. It can be verified by historical facts that the word Baluch was in use long before the movement of the race towards Makurān and India. The name has been frequently mentioned by the Arab chroniclers of the tenth century. Hence its origin should be detected in Persian or Arabic rather than in Indian annals. The name 'Rind' is a recent name having its origin from one of the sons of Ameer Jalāl Khan, under whom many Baluch tribes swarmed after his father's death and consequently all were designed as 'Rind'.

Sultān-ul-Mulk 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Ismāīl bin Afzal dealing with the geography of Kirmān states that near the mountain region of the Qufs lies the mountains of the Baluchis who speak a language akin to Indian dialect and are classed with the Jats[3]. The above historian has been misled by the conjunction of the Jats (an Indian race) with the Baluchis in the Kirmān province. Jats, as will be stated later on, were settled in Kirmān and the Bahren territories since the advent of Islām in Persia.

Dames suggests that the Baluchis are Persians and further holds that the resemblance of the former to the Turkomans seems to be the strongest, but to the Persian nomad is the strongest of all. The nasal index for forty-five Baluchis according to him is 68.8. So far as the shape of the head is concerned, they are classed with the brachycephalic Persians and not with the dolichocephalic Arabs or Indians[4]. Professor Keane remarks, 'the Baluchis as an illustration of the low-land Tājik type[5]'. Colonel Mockler in his article on 'the origin of Baluchis', published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal, 1895, suggests that the mass of the Baluch race are the remnants of the ancient people of Makurān as the Gedrosii of the Greeks. He further contends that the Rind tribe are not by origin Baluch but an off-shoot of the Arab 'Alafi' tribe descended from the sons of al-Harīth-Alafi who fought against

1. Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXIX, p. 18.
2. Ethnography of Afghanistan by H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., 1891, pp. 171, 172 and 175-187.
3. "Taqwīm-al-Buldān" by Sultān-ul-Mulk 'Imād-ud-Dīn.
4. Colonel Dames treatise 'The Baluch race', can be fairly compared to a work which provides the drudgery in literature for the assistance of a writer of established opinion.
5. 'Man Past and Present', (Plate XI, p. 554).

Al-Hajjāj, the then Governor of 'Irāq and substantially surrendered himself. He was finally driven off to live in Sind, in A.H. 86. About the Baluchis and Brahuis writes Risely as "Probably formed by a fusion of Turki and Persian elements in which the former predominates[1]."

'Alī Sher Kanei of Tatta in his history, written in 1774 A.D.[2] traces the origin of the Rind tribe from Jalāl Hān, a descendant of Muhammad bin Hārūn, surnamed Makurāni, the Governor of Makurān and of the Indian frontiers under Hajjāj (705 A.D.) on the accession of Caliph Walīd. The same author states that Muhammad son of Hārūn was a grandson of Muhammad bin Aban bin Abd-ur-Rahīm bin Hamzah bin 'Abdul Mutlib, the grandfather of the Prophet of Islām (may peace be on him). The author states that in a lonely desert Ameer Hamzah confronting a fairy, associated with her. The fairy soon found herself with a child and in due course of time gave birth to a son named 'Abd-ur-Rahīm[3]. In fact, Ameer Hamzah had no male issue[4] and moreover, Muhammad bin Hārūn belonged to Al-Numri tribe and not the Quraysh tribe and his genealogy is Muhammad bin Hārūn bin Zarā. Lastly the author speaks of the Jat and Baluch as the descendants of Hārūn Makurāni. In fact, the Jats are heard of in the history centuries before Harun Makurānī.

Kanikoff advocates Baluch to be of Turkoman origin. In fact all the contentions of the western scholars about the origin of the race do not stand the test of rigid historical researches.

Language also plays a preliminary role in classifying the origin of a race but we should also bear in mind the last philological maxim, that "whilst language is a test of social contact, it is no real test of race". The Baluchi language has decidedly a greater affinity with the modern Persian language. But the dialect spoken in the country is of two kinds—one spoken in Makūrān with its elastic sub-stratum of Persian language greatly disguised under a corrupt and unaccountable system of pronunciation. It is supposed to be branched off from the old Persian—a Persian lingua franca—coeval with the Achaemenian dialect in vogue in the days of the Sasānids.

The Medic branch of the Avesta language is held to be the parent of the Baluchi language[5]. The Baluchi dialect is a relic of the ancient Persian dynasties whose authority extended over a considerable tract of land before and after the commencement of the Christian era. The western limit of this dialect cannot be definitely demarcated but its eastern limit has been up to the watershed of the Indus. The Makūrānī dialect is overlaid with Sindi words imported by the Jats who inhabited the Kirmān province of Persia since ages[6]. The Baluchi spoken in northern Baluchistan differs from that of the Makūrānīs. The former has a greater infusion of Pashtu. Mr. Bruce considers Baluchi as a corrupt form of Persian and affirms that it would be hardly justifiable to class Baluchi as a separate language. Grierson classes it as belonging to the Persian branch of the Aryan sub-family of the Indo-European family.

1. "The People of India", (1908).
2. 'Tuhfatul Kirām', his magnum opus, to which he owes his popularity replete with fictitious anecdotes. This literary demimonde seems to be at his best elements in showing his tour de force when he shields his arguments by evidences based on heresay.
3. "History of Sind" by Mirza Kalich Beg, p. 30.
4. See Tabari, al-Mas'ūdī, etc. He had only one daughter named Amāmah.
5. 'India's Past', by A. A. Macdonnell, p. 197.
6. Yākūt's Mu'jam-al Buldān.

The extraordinary stress of the Persian language upon the Baluchi language is mainly due to the long and incessant period of the settlement of the race within the boundaries of the Persian Empire.

Another noteworthy phenomenon in the Baluchi language is that the majority of the Baluchis pronounce 'خ' (*kh*) as 'ھ' (*h*) for instance 'Khuda' (God) as 'Huda' and 'Khān' as 'Hān', etc. In the Sanskrit language the pronunciation of '*kh*' as '*h*' is a common sight. This clearly denotes some affinity of the Baluchi language with the Sanskrit. Etymology has at present taken a place among the sciences and few more sciences other than this are important in denoting the origin of a race. The Baluchi language as it is today is a confused admixture of Arabic rather Semitic, Persian and Indian languages. There is an interesting phenomenon to mark. The race is sprinkled from the Kirmān Province of Persia up to the frontiers of Punjāb. The Baluchi spoken between Kirmān and Punjāb is of different dialects. The more we move towards the Indian borderland, we feel a great importation and stress of Indian words on Baluchi and similarly, if, we move towards the Persian border, Persian words are commonly found in the language. In the Central Suleymān range, we have the Baluch tribes who speak a dialect somewhat different from the eastern and the western dialects. By pruning all the imported Persian, Indian and Pashtu words twined round the Baluchi language; there remains uncovered a trunk of a language which is a profound relic of the ancient Semitic family both in root and sound. The Semitic words spoken by the Baluchis are deemed by them as pure and ancient Baluchi words which are used with great pride. We must not lose sight of the assertion of the Baluchis—derived no doubt from ancient traditions, if not from direct historical evidence—to have migrated from Syria but their claim to be the descendants of Ameer Hamzah, the uncle of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) seems to be singularly baseless. The actual migration of the race from Syria proper or its adjoining districts takes us back to a remote age far beyond the Islāmic period. We hear of the Baluch race dwelling in Northern Persia in the time of Anusherwān, 'the Just'. The term Baluch is written by Arab chroniclers as 'Belos' and this term has great historical significance. The following pages contain the narration of an age where still history's dawn has not set its light through its depth of darkness which mysteriously shrouded an infant world. When we strive to pierce the gloom and sieve the certain from the uncertain and the true from the untrue covering pristine ages of the Semites, there is want of synchronism in the chronologies. The sum total of the information thus to be gleaned from ancient resources for an elucidation of any fact is exceedingly poor, sufficing hardly for determining its most general features. Where there is no visible certainty, error is as wide as men's fancies. The general information and research of scholars concerning above period centres round the cults of various ancient gods, writings on temples, monuments of antique, architectural constructions—palaces and mounds, etc.

The term Baluch or Belos is apparently a combination of Bal-uch, or Bel and Os. The very name of the race, if probed deeply, takes back our mind towards a race or a civilization which once dominated, in manifolds, the then known world.

Bel is the Babylonian deity, a different form of the Canaanite B'al[1]. The god 'Bel' is first introduced from Babylon and is identified with the Greek god Zeus. "Even in Palmyra a solar diety stood at the head of the Palmyra gods as shown by the Greek and Latin transcriptions, "Μαλοχ Βηλος, Malachibelus, Malong-belus[2]."

A B'al of Heaven or sky, B'al occurs as the chief god in the Hamath inscription of 800 B.C. (Pognon inscription. Sem. No. 86) and in a treaty between Esarhaddon and B'al, king of Tyre (seventh century); and he is famous in the Persian World[3].

B'al was the leading god amongst all nations speaking the cognate dialects of a semitic or Syro-Arabian language. According to a custom prevailing from the time immemorial in the East, the name of the supreme deity was introduced into the names of men. This system prevailed from the fertile valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates to the heart of the phoenician colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules. The same god was known to the Jews, and was applied generally to the deities of the surrounding nations mainly of Semitic and Hamitic blood.

The Greeks maintained the old notion that the races of men have gods for their ancestors, or are the children of the earth, the Common Mothers of the gods and men, so that men are of the kin of the gods[4]. The Bible too clarifies that the ancient Semites held the same view. Jeremiah mentions idolators as addressing to a stock, "thou art my father"; and told to a cobbler, "thou hast brought me forth[5]". In num. XXI. 29, the Moabites are called the sons and daughters of Chemosh, prophet Malachi calls a heathen woman "the daughter of a strange god[6]." In the days of yore when society in Syria, Palestine and 'Irāq was chiefly organised on the tribal system, wherefore each tribe or clan or even each composite of clans forming a small independent people, traced their pedigree to a great first father; and as it manifests, that similar to the Greeks, this father or αρχηγετης of the race was mainly associated with the god of the race. As such in the Book of Genesis many names of the deities can be confirmed by the name of tribes. Edom, for example, the ancestor of the Edomites, was worshipped as a god by the heathens, as appears from the Theophorous proper name Obededon, "Worshipper of Edom[7]."

Philo Byblius in his Phoenician Cosmogony states that deities are nothing more than worshipped men who had been great benefactors to their species. In due course of time the worshippers of one god, being now men of different families, united by political bonds instead of lineal consanguinity, could not be all considered as children of the god. He was considered as king of all instead of being father. As such the deity of a mixed community used to be the old deities of the most influential families, the members of these families might still trace their origin to the family god. Just like the Semites, the royal houses among the Greeks long continued to trace their pedigree

1. Cf. the Qurānic god.
2. A text book of North Semitic inscriptions by the Rev. G. A. Cooke, M.A., p. 268.
3. Lidzbarski, Ephem. 1.243 sqq. (*See* first II. 122).
4. See details and references in Preller-Robert, Griechische Mythol (1887) 1. 78 Sqq.
5. Jer. II. 27.
6. Mal. II. II.
7. Bathgen, Beitrage Zur Semitischen Religions g. p. 10.

back to a divine forefather. It is stated by Virgil and Silius Italicus[1], that the princely house of Tyre and the sublimest families of Carthage advocated descent from the Tyrian B'al. As mentioned in the Bible, we find among the Aramaean sovereigns more than one Ben-hadad, "son of the god Hadad", and also it seems from the name of king Bar—R K B, that he claimed descent from the god R K B—E L[2]. Names like Barłāhā, "son of God", Barbā Shmin, "son of the Lord of Heaven", Barate, "son of Ate", are a common sight among the later Aramaeans. At Palmyra stood the deities, Barnebo, "son of Bebo", Barshamsh, "son of the Sun-god"; and the eponym of a family of temple slaves in Barkos, "son of the god Caus", (Ezra II). Many present Arabian tribes bear the names of gods, or of Celestial bodies deified as gods, and their members are styled "sons of Hobal, sons of the Full moon[3]." "Broadly speaking", writes Reland, "the land of god corresponds with the land of his worshippers; Cānaan is Jehovah's land as Israel is Jehovah's people[4]."

In like manner the land of Assyria (Asshur) takes its name from the god Asshur[5], but in general all nations copied the gods of the heathens and so their deities were the gods of the nations and the gods of the lands[6]. In Semitic religion the relation of the gods to certain places which are special seats of their power is commonly expressed by the title B'al (pl. B'alim, fem. B'alāth). As applied to men 'b'al' means the master of a house, the owner of a state, etc. In a secondary sense when used ordinarily in Arabic, ba'l means husband.

In later times B'al or Bel became a proper name, especially in connection with the cult of the Babylonian Bel, and entered into compounds of a new kind like the Aglibol.

From this god B'al came the Belus of the Greeks, who is confounded with the Zeus or Jupiter of the Greeks. The Kaldians and the Babylonians called it 'Bel' בל, the phoenician Ba'l, both from the Hebrew בעל B'al or 'Lord' and also B'al, has been transited into Βηλος[7]. As the supreme deity he came to be identified with the sun, the greatest divine manifestation in the Sabean system. Hence much mythological confusion occurred between Belus and Apollo, and the defining of the two with the same attributes. The Phoenicians called him Beelsamin—Lord of heaven.

Diodorus Siculus mentions the three mighty deities worshipped in the renowned temple at Babylon, Belus (or Jupiter), Hera, and Rhea, whose feet in height, represented upright, weighing 1000 Babylonian talents. According to Castor, "Belus was

1. AEN. 1. 729; Punica, 1.87.
2. See Tiele, Babylonisch-Assyr-Gesch. p. 492.
3. See Kinship, p. 241 Sqq.; and Wellhausen, Heidenthum, p. 7 Sqq.
4. Palaestina. vol. I, p. 16 Sqq.
5. Schrader, kat. 3rd Ed. p. 351.
6. 2 Kings XVIII, 33 Sqq.
7. See Perozonius work 'Origines Babylonii at Egyptie Tome', I Cap V, p. 58 and 60 where he remarks almost every nation had their Belus, and he proves that the Babylonian called the supreme deity Belus-from a passage of Diodorous Διοs or Καλονσιν or Βα Βνλωνιοι Βηιον (Lib. II, p. 97. Edit Rhodom 1604).

the King of the Assyrians, and after his death, was revered as god[1]." Aelian confirms that when Xerxes (485-465 B.C.), the Achaemenian sovereign, opened the tomb of Belus, he found the body in a *coffin* stuffed, nearly to the brim, with oil[2]. His tomb, as we know, was consecrated to devotion and sanctified by prayer.

It is peculiar to find Persians subsequently carrying as their chief religious symbols the figures of Belus and Ninus. After Ninus, an Assyrian King, flourished thirteen centuries before Christ, reigned Thyrras, whom they named Mars. "He was a mighty Lord, a creature of blood whose every motion was timed with the cries of the dying". The Assyrians ranked him amongst the gods, naming him Belus, or mighty Mars—the god of battles[3].

The great temple of Babylon was called the temple of Belus where Berosus or Berrosos, a Kaldian priest, contemporary of Alexander, 'the Great', officiated as a priest.

Moses of Chorene extols his greatness as a most learned Kaldian; "Vir chaldaicus Omnis doctrinae peritissimus." Berosus commending the might and right of god Belus states that there used to be demons having human forms with two or four wings, and the horns and legs of goat and the tails of fish. These giants according to him in the beginning inhabited the dark watery abyss, but were eradicated by Belus[4]. From the above description we deduce a clue to unravel the mystery of the mythical history of the monstrous animals supposed to live in moisture and dark places in the pristine ages and their final extinction effected by the heat and splendour of 'Belus', 'the Lord or King', 'the Divinity' or in one word the Sun. Vossius quoting genuine authorities remarks that the Babylonians called the Sun, 'Belus', contradictory to 'Lord' as the Moabites called it Moloch or 'King'; Assyrians, Kaladians and Babylonians addressed it Belus[5].

Ahab the king of Israel lived in Samaria, he married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, the king of Tyrians and Sidonians. This woman, we are told, was bold and possessed an agile and vigorous body. She was a rabshakle, disposed to a spirit of levity and libertinism. Her vanity led her to build a temple to the god of the Tyrians which they called Belus[6], on which they planted grove of all kinds of trees. When Nebopallassar kicked up his heels, his son Nebuchadnezzar came to Babylonia, settled the disturbed affairs and bedecked the temple of Belus, with bough, flowers, and garlands.

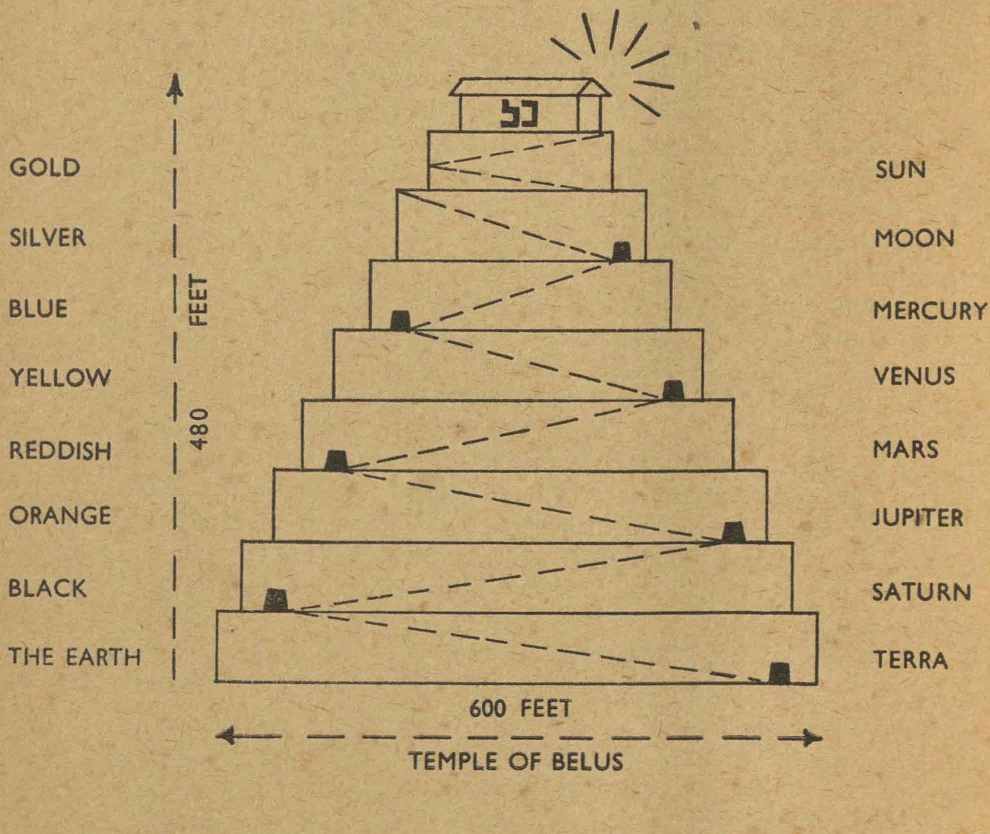
Several rivers of Phoenicia were called after the divinities worshipped in the nearest city, *e.g.* the Adonis, the Belos, the Aselepios, the Damuraas[7]. It is mentioned in the 'Periplus of the Erytherean Sea', that in the ancient times glass was imported from the sand of river Belus in Phoenicia. This name Belo was introduced in ancient

1. Cory's fragments, p. 65.
2. Arch of John of Antioch, in Cramer, Anecdota, V. II, p. 386.
3. 'Ninveh and its Remains' by Layard, V. 2, p. 220.
4. See the fragments of Berosus preserved by Eusebius. (See Tassie's Genis, pl. 1 x 2, x, & c.).
5. See the Idolalatria Lib. II Cap 6. Vossius.
6. The works of Flavious Josephus (page 234, Chapter XIII).
7. Bandissin, Studien Zur Semitischen Religions geschichte, Vol. II, pp. 159-165.

Egypt where it gave name to a certain city which exists today with the name of Belos[1].

Throughout the reign of the ancient Babylonian dynasties, the temple of Belus was the centre of attraction and the seat of treasure and splendour. The value of gold, as stated by Diodorous, taken from the temple of Belus alone by Xerxes amounted to 7350 Attic talents, or 21,000,000£ sterling of money.

The splendid buildings of the Akkadians and Kaldians costing the mass of royal and public treasury stood as the marvel of those ages. The temple of Belus was the most splendid of all and was dedicated to Bel, Ba-El, Ba-al, and all the later people inhabiting the water shed of Tigris and Euphrates called it Belus—the sun, for his invigorating and fructifying capacity.



TEMPLE OF BELUS

1. "Al-Tuhfa Senah Bā-Isma-i-al-Bilād-e-Misriah" by Sheikh Sharf-ud-Dīn Yahya ibn al-Muqar ibn Je'ān. The author describes the town of 'بلوس' as

مسا حتها ١٥٣ فدان بهارزق ٢٣ فدان عبرتها ١٢٠٠ دينار للمقطعين-

It composed of tower upon tower, each about 60 feet high and located in a square enclosure of some 30 acres in extent. Its base was a square of rather more than 200 yards on each side, from which rose eight square stages to a total height of 480 feet. On the uppermost stage was a shrine of the Sun: "Before Bel stood two golden lions, and between Bel and Beltis were two enormous serpents of silver each 30 talents in weight". There was a golden table 40 X 15 feet in front of three statues. Herodotus, the Greek historian, writes, "that 1000 talents weight of frank-incense was here offered annually at the festival of Bel". In his time, at the base of the temple was the image of Bel made of pure gold.

Dr. Fritz Hommel[1] remarks that many tribal names have sprung up from the names of deities in ancient Arabia. He writes that the inhabitants of Hadrāmaut and Katabania had borrowed the god 'Sin' and 'Nebo' from the Babylonians, the former under the name of Sin, the latter as Anbai—the original Babylonian name being Nabiu. Besides, the Arabic tribal name Nebayoth comes from Nebo, as it was a common custom to throw the names of deities into the feminine plural as a sign of majesty, as for example, Ba'loth, Ashtāroth, Anatot, in Babylonia the forms Sinatu, Shamashatu, also occur, the last two as masculine personal names in the contract-tablets of Khammurabi dynasty. It shows thus that tribes and rivers have been named after God Belus, *e.g.* river Belus and Ba'loth tribe. In the Hebrew Lexicon, 'Ba'lath[2] or Ba'loth in 'Aloth', was a proper name of a town in the south of Judah towards the coast of Edom peopled by the children of Judah. Thus there can be hardly any doubt, to assert that people who worshipped the god Belus have been named after their deity.

Mr. Ouseley[3] writes, "By traditions of mythology and fragments of astronomy, from similarity of language, there is every reason to believe that the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were the "Gothi" or Indo-Scythe who as Mr. Wilford has proved from the Purānās were the Palis, Balis or Bils of that part of India bordering on the Indus, who according to Irish traditions and history settled in Omān and became intermixed with the Dedannites and became the carriers of trade from Ethopia to India". Mr. Bruce while travelling through Arabia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, found the descendants of the Indo-Scythe, which he writes: "were in the Hebrew called Phut, in all other languages shepherds, they are called Balous[4], Bagla, Beloucee[5], Barberi, Barbara, Zilla and Habab". Mr. Bryant is of opinion that, "the Indo-scuthae occupied the coast of Syria under the title of Bildae, Cadmians and Phoenicians. They are called Cufeans, Arabians, Eruthreans, Ethopians among themselves, their general patronymic was Cuth and their country Cutha[6].

1. "Ancient Hebrew Traditions".
2. See Bible, Joshua 15:24.
3. See his book "Oriental Collections".
4. بلعوس or بلوس
5. بلوصى is the medieval Arabic form of the term Baluch.
6. Cuthā is the same as Kuthā or Kūsh.

The above statements of Mr. Bruce regarding the tribes Balos, Berbery, Bagla and Beloucee as Indo-Scythe and addressed as Phut by the Hebrews, and the claim of Mr. Bryant classing Indo-Scythe under the title of Phoenicians, Arabians and Cufeans, etc. seems to be altogether contradictory assertion and remain far from historcial truth.

The Phut is an African race inhabiting Libya. Prophet Nahun when captured Dispolis (city of God) which in all its probability was Thebes, the metropolis of the Egyptian Empire—the modern Karnak—said that Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, Phut and Lubin (Cyrene and Libya) were also her helpers. This shows that Phut inhabited Libya centuries before the migration of the Indo-Scythe towards Europe. Hām the son of prophet Noah had four sons, and time has not confounded the name of Phut and of Kush, for the Ethiopians over whom he reigned, even at present day, both by themselves and by all men in Asia, are called Kushites. Here is the geneaological table:—

NOAH

- Shem
- Japhet
- Ham
  - Cana'ān
  - Kūsh
  - Phut

Phut was the founder of Libya and his descendants were called Phutites. Even today there is a river in the country of Moors which bears the name of Phut, whence it is that we see majority part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river and the neighbouring country by the appellation of Phut. Apart from this, the name Berber or Barbarian was first applied by the Romans to the Libian branch of the Hemitic race, a race now distributed over the whole of Northern Africa.

The origin of the Phoenicians, is a problem of much disputable disposition. The whole of Arabia was once called the land of Poen. About the original homeland of the Phoenicians, Odyssey's (IV 81-5), may be cited where Sidonia and Ethiopia are leagued both clearly Arabian[1]. The Old Testament gives various descriptions of the later exodus from that direction to Palestine[2].

The famous historian, Justin, (XVIII, 3, 2) describing the early migration of the Phoenicians states: "The people of Tyre were sprung from the Phoenicians, who left their own land, being greatly distressed by earthquakes, and dwelt some time in the marsh land of Babylonia, but later by the shores of (Mediterranean) Sea, where they built a town which they called Sidon because of the abundance of the fish; for Sidon is the Phoenician word for fish".

A later account[3] describes their origin from Jobab. The Greeks recognised Phoenice as Can'aān. Hecatæus points to "Chna", as Phoenice was formerly called, and this name survived as late as an inscription of Antiochus Ephiphanes, being

1. Cf. Strabo I, ii, 34-5; XVI, iii, 4, iv, 27.
2. Zechariah IX, 6; Ezra IV. 9.
3. Chron. Pasch. I, 54.

referred with the mythical hero Chna, who is definitely the Can'aān of Genesis X, a brother of Kūsh, and who 'begot Sidon, his first born'.

Phonic (bloody, cruel or murderous) is another inference of 'Phoenician', which rests on the restless character of the race, for adventurous undertaking such as sea-folks, traders and pirates.

Syncellus deduces their origin from 'Iudadan', while Josephus[1] according to the genealogy of Genesis X, from Dedan, the son of Raameh, the son of Kūsh.

Sir H. Rawlinson states 'Canaan' as the ancestor of the Phoiniks; and 'Chna' the contracted form of Phoinik, and Sanchoniathon (the Phoinik) says that it was so changed in his time.

In Syria, during the Greek rule, Can'aān was a common name for Phoinika. To the Greeks, Herodotus writes, it was an abbreviated form of Assyria.

Among the various important nations that the Jews met about 1500 B.C. were the 'Giant Enims[2]' or Beni Anaks 'sons of Anak'. It was to these Beni Anaks that the Greeks gave the name of Pheni-Anaks and in due course of time termed as Pheniks or Phienix. Pausanias speaks of them at Corinth and Miletus as the important Anak-torii; Manetho addresses them as the Ph'anakes, and throughout the Mediterranean Monarchies they were known as Φοννικες, Ph'Anax or P'Anaks and were fabled for power, intrepidity and all ingenious arts. The writer of Genesis speaks of the Ph'Anaks as Can'aāns, descendants of Kush, and as old as the Egyptians or Mitz-Ras and came like Abraham from the East, long after the migration of the Palasht tribes. The Pelasgians, Pelishthe, or Palaste or Philistines, were regarded by the Jews and the Greeks to be of the descendants of same stock. The Phoenicians addressed themselves Can'aāns and they are the ancestors of all Pelishte, Philistines, Pelethites, Palestines, etc. The Jewish writings describe, Phoenicians as the venerable descendants of the brothers "Canaan, Cush, Misraim and Phut", and of the Anakims fabled for power and learning and descended from Anak eldest son of Arba of Hebron[3]. It was a matter of pride to be called an Anak. Such was their reputation according to Faber that an Anak came to mean with Gentiles "a king".

Throughout the ancient Greece the Beni-Anaks were ascertained with Zeus, and that they presided over national games, festivals, ceremonies and exhibitions of arts so much so that many festivals were called Anakeia. Bryant and Holwell mention that "Phonik or Phoenix was a mere honorary term compounded of Anac with the Egyptian prefix, whereas meaning a great man or a king, an oracle, Phi or Pi, of the Sun and that it was arrogated by the Kushites and Cana'anites, the Mysians addressed Dionysus Ph'anak, and the Royal shepherd-race of Egypt, namely the Kushites who were entitled Phenicies". Isaiah addressed the Phoenicians as the "honourable of the earth", whose downfall remarks Ezekiel "will tremble the world." Jehovah called them "a people, great, many and tall-giant Zuzim or Zamzummim, Hams or Amons[4]."

1. Antiq. Jud. 1, 6, 2.
2. Josh. xi, 22, XV. 14; Num. xiii. 28; Deut. ii. 10.
3. Jos. XV. 13.
4. Deut. ii, 19-21.

Concluding the pre-mentioned assertion of Mr. Ousley, Bryant and Wilford, to class Phuts, Phoenicians, Arabians, Berbers, Balous and Beloucee[1] as Indo-Scythe and also as the earliest inhabitants of Ireland, remains far beyond the region of sound historical criticism and conviction. The origin of the so-called semitic races as derived from Indo-Scythe, therefore, cannot be designed. It appears to be exceedingly probable that some of the inhabitants of Ireland were a colony from the northern parts of Phoenicia who migrated to some parts of Spain and finally settled in Ireland[2]. In Ireland, there are cities named Beal-Nagar or the City of Belus; as Nagar certainly signifies a city, both in Kaldian and Irish language. The root 'gor' exists in both languages. The introduction of the name Beal or Belus definitely denotes a Semitic importation in ancient Ireland. The Jews held that Abramites settled in Padan-Aram; Phoenicians or Kushites abounded over all Mediterranean coasts.

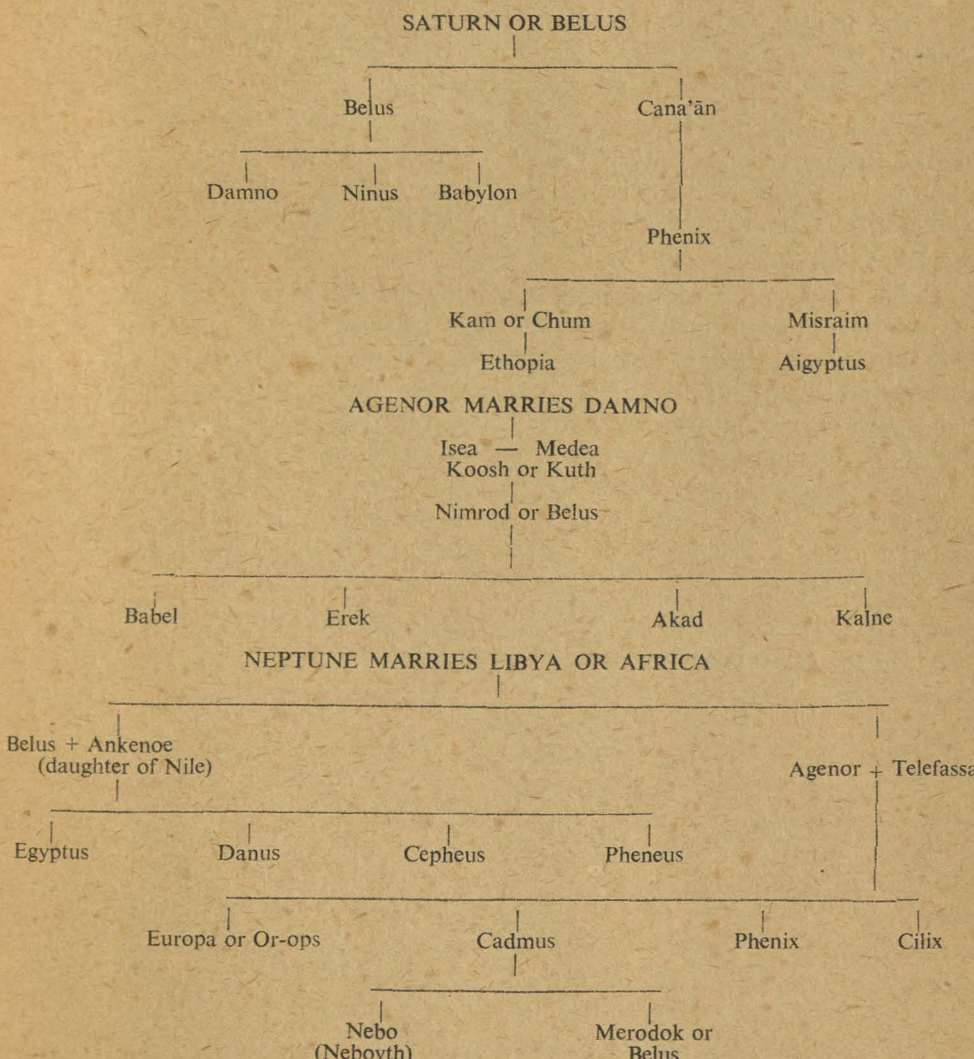
Regarding god B'al or Bel we see a strange mixing of nations and faith. The Semite or in a broader sense the Kushites adherents propagated the fame of this god throughout the then known globe. We are told by the Ecclesiastical writers that the Irish Kaldees were employed by St. Patrick and his successors, and in the Register of the Scotch Priory of St. Andrews it is stated, that "there were in the Church of St. Augustine—such as it then was, thirteen by carnal succession whom they call Keldees, who lived according to their own opinion and the tradition of men, rather than according to the statute of the holy father . . ."

The priests of the great Solar god Bel, whose prophet was Bal-ak in Jewish writ, was called Bel-ech by the Kelts. The Keltik god worshipped at Nantes, was Boul-Janus, or Baal and Janus[3], the Phallik Bel. During the dawn of history, at York in England, was worshipped the Bellona's shrine and the religious rites were akin to those ordained for Diana which was addressed Baal-Tis by Phoenicians, and Bel-tha (Luna) by Arabians. Herakles was called Baulus at Bauli in Latium, and in further east as Belus, Bali and Bali-Ram; and Belus was the son of Neptune—the main supposed source of the magnificence of Tyre as well as of Babylon and Assyria. The surrounding territories deified him as Bel-Osiris, Bel-Ochus, Bel-Orus, and Bel-Apis, etc. Even in Greek mythology the god 'Belus' is of Semitic introduction: "if in the legend of Danaos and Aigyptos with their fifty sons and fifty daughters," writes Sir George[4], "we put aside the name of Belos and possibly that of Aigyptos as not less distinctly foreign than the Semitic Melikertes, Kadmos, and Agenor in the Boitian mythology, there remains in the whole list of names on either side scarcely a name which is not purely Greek or Aryan. The mischief began with the notion that the whole Greek mythology not merely exhibited certain points of likeness or contact with that of Semitic or other alien tribe, but was directly borrowed from it; and when for this portentous fact no evidence was demanded or furnished beyond the impudent assertions of Egyptian priests, there was obviously no limit and no difficulty

1. Balous or Beloucee are ancient forms of the term Baluch.
2. See Sir Lawrence's works.
3. Eneid, I, clas. Manual of 1827, p. 394.
4. "The Mythology of the Aryan Nations" by Sir George W. Cox Bart, M.A., Section iii—'the rivers and fountains'—p. 482.

in making any one Greek god the counterpart of a deity in the mythology of Egypt. Hence it is likely that the names Belos and Aigyptos may have been late importations into a purely native myth, while the wanderings of Danaos and Aigyptos with their sons and daughters have just as much value as the pilgrimage of Io. In the form thus assigned to it, the legend runs that Libya, the daughter of Epaphos, the calf-child of Io, became the bride of Poseidon and the mother of Agenor and Belos."

To illustrate, here is the brief chart according to the Greek mythology, showing the distribution and derivation of races through gods:—



The Greeks asserted Ethiopik lineage from their Prometheus and Zeus, claiming that they were 'Lords of a mighty race who once ruled over both Eruthrean Seas and the Armenian Highlands'.

Forlong, an eminent scholar writes that the sons of Cuth or Cūsh (Kush) came into Syria and Phoenicia under the titles Kāsūs and Belus[1], where they founded many cities. This country according to Strabo was called Ethiopia and the Cadmians settled into Eubea and here was an Ethiopium. Samothrace was named Ethiopia and Lesbos was known as Ethiope and Makaria[2]. Both Bryant and Holwell agree that from two great chiefs, Belus and Phenix, originated the two great races, Belidae[3] and Phenices and all those going by such names, from Persepolis to all Mediterranean coasts and even beyond.

The Belides were also Danaides. The progenitor of the Dorians, Danians, or Adonians, was Danaus, and that this race came to Greece from Kemis in Egypt, and were great worshippers of Adorus[4] that is Adonis.

On the other hand the most learned and orthodox Gale[5] remarks, "that from Belus sprang Phenix or the father of Kadmus, which according to him signifies in Phoenician tongue, "Oriental", as does Hivite a "serpent" in the Syrian". Conforming to Bochart, he further states that the Hivites lived on Mount Hermon and were also designated as Kadmites.

The Kuths or Kūshites ruled, according to 'Sacred and Profane history', "through their fabled Eruthrus, their Abraham and Noah—All Arabia, Egypt and the East but dwelt mainly in the deltas of the Euphrates and the Tigris and in the lowlands of Arabia—the sea coasts, namely Palestine and Syria". All races of the Semitic origin and of the mediterranean regions have largely founded their faiths and civilisation on their foundations. There are firm basis for believing that the Mesopotamian civilisation emigrants to the North-Western parts of Arabia about 1900 B.C. or more aptly 1600 B.C. The Jews held that all nations should believe that they were descended in the person of a Kaldian Sheikh called Abram or Brahma, the 'high father',—(Prophet Abraham).

From Hām[6], the second son of Prophet Noah, (may peace be on him) have descended the following nations of Africa and Asia:—

NOAH

Shem — Japhet — Hām

(Cont'd.)

1. Compare these names with the names of Kufs and Balos of the Arab chroniclers and Koj and Baloj or Koch and Baluch of the Shah Nāmeh Firdausi, where the poet has used them frequently.
2. Strabo I,73 and X,60, 3. Pliny, N.N.V. 31.
3. Even today Buledey is the biggest tribe among the Baluchis.
4. Herod VI, 53. Pliny, VII, Bryant, II, 249.
5. "Court of Gentiles", (printed in 1669).
6. Gen. V. 32, vi, 10, VII, 13.

HAM

- Cush or Kūsh
  - Seba
  - Havilah
  - Sabatah
  - Raamah
    - Sheba
    - Dedan
  - Sabtechah
  - Nimrod or (Belus)
- Mizraim
  - Ludim
  - Anamin
  - Lehabim
  - Naphtuhim
  - Pathrusim
  - Casluhim
    - Philistim
  - Caphtarim
- Phut
- Cana'ān
  - Sidon
  - Heth
  - Jebusite
  - Amorite
  - Girgasite
  - Hivite
  - Arkite
  - Sinite
  - Arvodite
  - Zamarite
  - Hamathite

We are here concerned with the Kūshite branch. It is interesting to note that the Bible calls Nimrod a son of Kūsh. Nimrod was called, Nimrod, the Belus, and also the city of Nimrod[1] was called the city of Belus. Nimrod was also termed as a god[2]. The exact location of this figure has taken a much controversial character. Some have remarked that he was a Libyan figure[3] and few have attributed him to be of Babylonian origin[4].

As already mentioned, the son of Kūsh came to Syria and Phoenicia under the titles of Kāsūs and Belus. It is interesting to note that even today Kūsh is a famous Baluch tribe inhabiting the Sukkur district of Sind, Bahāwalpur State and Baluchistan proper. Nimrod was the first great Kaldian king who was addressed as 'Belus'. Mr. Rawlinson adhering to the Bible story mentions that an actual person Nimrod founded the Kaldian Empire and even the classical writer Moses Chorene also speaks to this effect and further over boldy asserts that there was actually a person called Nimrod in the history of Kaldia as the 'Lord Niproo' or 'Niproo'. It is told that he is Bil-ar-Enoo, which it is 'proposed to read Niproo[5]' a word translated by Jewish

1. Observation on engraved gems (in March 1817) communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by John Landseer, F.S.A., in the Archeologia Vol. XVII.

2. See Wellhausen, Hexateuch (2nd ed. 1889) p. 308 sqq.

3. E. Meyer, Gesch. d. Alt. 1 (361 n.).

4. Skinner, Gen. 209, Karaeling, AJSL. XXXVIII, 214.

5. 'Ancient Monarchy', by Rawlinson, I. 148.

writers as 'the mighty Hunter'. Rawlinson contends further that the name Baluch is derived from 'Belus', King of Babylon who is identified with Nimrod, the son of Kūsh, of Holy writ[1]. Nimrod (Nimrud or Nim-rood) was the 'Maha-deva or Lingam god' of Babylonia. The name Bacchus is Barchus, meaning the son of Kus or Kooth, which the Jews held Nimrod was, for 'Bacchus is called Nebrodes, which is the same as Nimrodes', and that 'he wore a tiger's skin and rode on a chariot drawn by tigers, which animal, both in Hebrew and Kaldi, is named Namur'. Mr. George Smith, after years of stubborn research arrived at the conclusion that Nimrod was the grandson of Noah by Hām and Kūsh, and was a king of lower Kaldia under the designation of Izdubar, 'the companion of Hea-bani or son of Fire'. The actual meaning of Izdubar or Nimrod is Fire-Holder. Izdubar or Nimrod murdered Humbaba, king of Elam, and established the Kaldian dynasty. According to Berosus, before this, Median[2] kings ruled in Kaldia. Sir H. Rawlinson holds that this Nimrod was the deity Ner-Gal signifying 'great Man'. While Rev. Sayce indentifies him with the god Merudook (Marodak) and Cannon Rawlinson writes that Nimrod reigned about 2400 B.C. Some writers make him 'contemporary with Abraham the prophet'. This version is correct as the Holy Qurān makes Nimrod the contemporary of the Prophet Abraham. This Nimrod is traditioned to have thrown the Prophet Abraham 'friend of God' into the fire which unharmed him, as shown by the Holy Qurān:—"We said, O Fire! Be thou cool, and (a means of) safety for Abraham"—Thus Abraham triumphed over the persecution of Nimrod.

Prophet Abraham was born in Ur of the Kaldees, a place on the lower reaches of the Euphrates. If local tradition can have a claim in the pages of history, then Nimrod must have ruled over the tract which includes the modern Nimrod, about twenty miles south of Mosul. The city of Babylon[3] was built by Nimrod. The Assyrians claimed Nimrod as their great patriarch and the greatest Kaldian King. The gods of Syria and of the country watered by the Euphrates, like those of Egypt were feudal princes distributed over the surface of the earth. Each nation, each tribe, each city, worshipped its own lord or its master, Ba'l, and each of these was designated by a special title to distinguish him from neighbouring Ba'lim or master. The great Kaldian god was Belus, wherefore their king as mentioned designated himself as Nimrod, 'the Belus', and his followers, the Kaldians, assumed this name; cities and rivers were named after this god as mentioned before and its followers as Belusis which in medieval age was written by the Arab chroniclers as Balos, and even today the Baluchis are addressed by the Pathans as Balos[4]. Mr. Forlong writes about the etymology of the name Baluchistan that 'this name strikes us at once as composed of Bel-ak-istan,'

1. Ancient Monarchy by Rawlinson. I. 148.
2. Med is one of the biggest tribes of Makūran, heretofore, and inhabit the coastal region of the country *i.e.* Pasni, Gawādar and Jiwani, etc.
3. The city of Babylon was built on the bank of the river Euphrates. Its area was nearly one hundred square miles. Around the city was built a wall of thirty yards height. Such was the breadth of the wall that a chariot drawn by four horses could easily run on it. The present town of Jillah is built on the ancient ruins of Babylon. (See 'The Arab Civilization' by Dr. Lebon, translated by Syed 'Ali Bilgrāmi, P. 4).
4. It is worthy of note that the Kandahār province including the central Kalāt plateau and parts of Seistān were known as Balyūs in medieval history. The name Balyūs or Balūs has come to use due to the migration of the Baluch race in Kirmān, Seistān, Makurān and parts of Shorāwak territory of Afghanistan.

"the place of the Sun-god", who, by those denying him, would as usual be abhorred and his region called "the place of the fiend," or Beloo being, however, so near to Chusistan the land of the Kooth, Cush or Kuthite, the name may signify Bel-a-Kush-stan, "place of the Bel or Sun-worshipping Kuths". The learned author has interpreted wrongly the etymology of the term Baluchistan. Baluchistan means the country or place of the Baluchis. The country took the present name when the general Baluch oxodus took place in the early decades of the fifteenth century. The medieval Arabs called the central plateau of Baluchistan as Tūrān and the western maritimus portion upto Bampur as Makurān; the ancient Persians named it as Makaristān or Makaria, the Greeks, Gedrosii or Mekia and the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Houen Thsang termed it as Zangala[1]. The term Baluch[2] is the present form of the ancient name, 'Belus'—meaning 'Lord', or descendants of Nimrod, 'the Belus', and Emperor Belus, the Kaldians, or more aptly speaking according to pre-historic terminology, those Kaldians who worshipped the Kaldian or Babylonian god 'Bel'. Long before the advent of Islām Baluchis inhabited the extreme North provinces of Persia, adjacent to the Black sea, namely, Māzinderān, Gilān and Kurdistān. Xenophon, the syren of antiquity, and Strabo states that near the Black Sea, there were a people, called Kaldians. Firdausi mentions Baluchis as forming the backbone of the ancient Kisrās of the Achaemenian, Kianian and, Sāsanid dynasties. Sir Henry Green[3], Political Superintendent of the Upper Sind Frontier in the course of his travels through Syria, found many Syriac tribes bearing the name of many Baluch tribes inhabiting the Sind valley. Syria and Irāq had been for centuries the seats of the Kushite—Kaldian civilization and it is noteworthy that all the Baluch traditions and poetry speak of Allepo (in Syria) as the original home of the Baluchis and names of the several present Syrian tribes bearing the same name of the present Baluch tribes, all the more strengthens the Baluch legendary claim and historical conviction. Considering the Baluch tribes of Marri, Buledi, Maheri, Jamalī, Azdi and Nuhmri in Baluchistan, we have the Arab tribes bearing the same names *i.e.* Al-Marri[4], Al-Buledy, Al-Jamāli,

1. "Early History of Multan", by Syed Muhammad Latif, p. 2.
2. The name Baluch has come to us after going through several changes both in pronunciation and script. The old Kushite form had been 'Baaloth or Bealoth' (بعلوث و بيلوث); the Assyrian, Babylonian or Kaldian wrote and pronounced it as 'Belus or Baalos' (بيلوس و بعلوس); the medieval Arabs termed it as 'Balos or Baloj' (بلوص و بلوج); and the Persian name had been 'Baluch.'
3.. "The life and times of General Sir James Browne" by McLeod INNES, p. 139.
4. The Syrian tribe Al-Marri gave to Islām several Generals, Saints and Philosophers of repute, for instance men like Abu' Ala Al-Marri and Sālih Al-Marri, the former was a great Syrian poet—philosopher who flourished in 1050 A.D. and it is said of him that he had a prodigious memory and remembered all the contents of a book by reading once only. Hasain bin Hamām Marri was, too, a poet of repute and one of his verses— يغلقن ماماً من رجال احبه الينا وقد كانوا اعق و اظلما was recited by Yazīd bin Mū'āwiyah at the time when, Husain ibn 'Ali's head was brought before him at Damascus. During the battle of Khandaq in 5 A.H. according to Tabari, the Prophet of Islām (may peace be on him) desired to make alliance with Uniyah bin Hassan and Harīth bin 'Auf bin 'Ali Haritha al-Marri, the two chiefs of Ghatfan tribe though Sa'd bin 'Mūāz requested the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him) not to make alliance yet alliance was concluded.
The author of Sair-Al-Sahāba (Vol. VI, p. 256) states that Muslim bin 'Uqba Marri was among the Syrian deputies sent by Yazīd bin Mu'āwiyah to 'Abdullah bin Zubair at Mecca to get his submission concerning the former's Caliphate. Caliph Hishām appointed in 112 A.H. Junaid ibn-e-'Abd-ur-Rahmān Al-Marri, the Syrian, as the Governor of Khurāsān. He was also appointed as the Governor of Sind (Al-Belādhuri, Futūh-ul-Buldān, p. 429).

Mahri[1], Azdi[2] and al-Numri[3].

The Kūshites of ancient history have been the parent race of all the Semitic races *e.g.* Arabian, Syrian, Akkadian, Assyrian, Kaldian and Mesopotamian races. The chart in the preceding pages clearly shows the distribution of races from the Prophet Noah's three sons, Shem, Japhet and Hām. Hām possessed the land from Syria, Amamus and mountains of Libanus. Time has preserved so far the name of Kūsh out of the four sons of Hām. Kūsh ruled over the Ethiopians hence all the Ethiopians were called in history as Kūshites. The historic memory of Mesraites is also preserved. Phut founded Libya and his descendants were called Phutites. Cana'ān, the fourth son of Hām peopled the land of Judia and named it Cana'ān. The children of the four sons of Hām were these: Sabās founded the Sabeans, Evilas founded the Evileans who are also addressed as Getuli; Sabathes settled the Sabactenes and Ragmus the Ragmeans; he had two sons the one of whom, Judadas settled the Judadeans, a race of Western Ethiopian.

Shem the third son of Noah had five sons who inhabited the lands from Euphrates and reached to the Indian Ocean. Elam left behind the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at Nineveh and named his subject Assyrians. Arphaxed named the Arphaxadites who intermixed with the Kaldians. Sala was the son of Arphaxed, and his son was Heber, from which they called the Jews, Hebrews. Shem is, therefore, called the father of all children of Heber. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks called Syrians, and Laud founded the Laudites, the present Lydians. The descendants of Kūsh, the most famous grandson of Noah and son of Hām, migrated to Syria and Babylon under the title of Kāsus and Belus as stated before. The Eitheopes, the subjects of Kūsh were called Kūshites but his direct descendants were the Kāsus and Belus of ancient history, and the descendants of Belus have been the Beladae (the modern Baluch, Buledey tribe), etc. The kingly tree of the Kūsh descendants ramify through the Kaldian-Belus family of which the greatest ruler was the Kaldian Emperor, Nimrod, the Belus. The descendants of the venerable Kaldo-Belus family of the Kūshite branch are the present Balos or Baluchis of history. We find a long list of Kaldian rulers belonging to the Belus dynasty. Temples, gods, rivers, mountains cities, and tribes have been named after this name. The Baluchis, thus, belong to the royal family of the Kaldian tribe of the Kūshite race. The first mighty ruler of the first Kaldian dynasty was Nimrod, the Belus, and after him the greatest ruler of the line was Emperor Belus who ruled Babylon 2130 B.C. Nimrod is described in Genesis X.8-12 as the first "to be a mighty one in the earth", Skinner paraphrases this Biblical epithet of Nimrod in his commentary as "Originator of the idea of the Military state, based on arbitrary force". He founded the city of Nineveh, Calah, Rehoboth—Ir and Resen. A parallel Kaldian—Baluch dynasty which is identical

1. Ibn Shama Sah Mahri was a friend of 'Amr bin al-'ās, the famous companion of the Prophet (may peace be upon him). See Sair Suhāba, Muhājirin, Vol. II, p. 150, by Shah M'oīn-ud-Dīn Nadvi. From Mahri the name has been changed to Maheri.

2. Azdi is a famous Arab tribe. Harīth bin 'Ameer Azdi was also a companion of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him). He was murdered by Sharjīl on his way to Syria. In the time of Mu'āwiyah, Rashid bin 'Umro al Judedi al-Azdi was appointed governor of Makurān.

3. Al-Numri is a famous Arab tribe. Muhammad bin Hārūn bin Zara the governor of Makurān belonged to this tribe.

with the present formidable Baluch tribe, the Marris, held sway over the northern part of modern Syria. In 1934, the famous French Archaelogist, Professor Parrot leading a group of scientists, architects, assistants, and draughtsmen, excavated a remote hillside named Tell-Hariri, which lay about seven miles to the north of Abu Kemāl near the Euphrates. The excavations of Tell-Hariri added a wealth of new discoveries and information to a chapter of the history of the glorious ancient East. A German writer, had dedicated in his book a separate chapter 'The kingdom of Mari', which deals with the findings of the Tell-Hariri excavation.

From the outer crust of the Tell there appeared out of the rubble a little figure carved in stone, a marvellous piece of sculpture, which had some writing pricked out on the right shoulder. Professor Parrot deciphered the cuneiform and it was written: "I am Lamgi—Mari—King—of Mari—the great—Issakku—who worships his statue—of Ishtar." Further excavation of the whole mound brought to light the city of Mari. Scholars of antique had for a long time been familiar with the royal city of Mari which features in many old Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions but none had been successful in spotting the actual site of the city. One text held that Mari was the tenth city to be founded after the Flood.

The students of ancient history are indebted to Professor Parrot who brought into light the city of Mari, the Capital of King Lamgi-Mari. The palace of Lamgi-Mari was cleared of rubble and the mammoth royal palace consisted of 260 rooms and courtyards and covered an area of nearly ten acres. This palace at Mari was around 2000 B.C.—"one of the greatest sights of the world, the architectural gem of the Ancient East". Its granduer attracted travellers from far and near countries. "I have seen Mari", wrote an enthusiastic merchant from Phoenician Sea port of Ugarit. From the palace archives alone, 23, 600 cuneiform tablets were found—the greatest reserve of documents so far found. The find of the tablets at Nineveh of the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal, amounted to a mere 22,000 clay texts. The last Mari king of the Mari dynasty was Zimri-Lim. The great Hāmurabī, the Babylonian sovereign, conquered the kingdom of Mari in 1550 B.C.

Under the wreckage of roofs and walls of the palace were found the fire-pans of the Babylonian warriors who gave to flames the palace. But several parts of the palace were left undestroyed by the conquerors. "The installations in the palace kitchens and bathrooms", wrote Parrot, "could still be put into commission without the need of any repair, 4000 years after its destruction". In the bathrooms they found the tubes, cake moulds in the kitchens, even charcoal in the ovens.

The sight of these majestic ruins is an overwhelming experience. A single gate on the north side ensured easier control and better defence. Passing through a medley of courts and passages one reaches the great inner courtyard and broad daylight. This was the centre both of official life and the administration of the kingdom. The monarch received his officials as well as courtiers and ambassadors in the neighbouring audience—chamber, large enough to hold hundreds of people. Broad corridors led to the king's private apartments.

One wing of the palace was used exclusively for religious ceremonies. It contained also a throne-room approached by a marvellous staircase. A long processional way passed through several rooms to the palace chapel in which stood the image of

the mother goddess of fertility. From a vessel in her hands flowed perpetually, "the water of ever lasting life[1]".

The entire court lived under the king's roof. All the big officers of the state and scribes had their own commodious quarters. The palace of the kingdom of Mari also housed a Foreign office and a Board of Trade. More than 100 officials were involved in dealing with the incoming and outgoing mail, which amounted to thousands of tablets alone.

Two tablets contain a list of 2,000 craftsmen, giving their full names and the names of their guilds[2]. The tablets so far deciphered that the prosperity of the kingdom mainly depended on the widespread system of irrigation.

The news service in Mari functioned so swift and organized that it would fairly bear comparison with modern telegraphy. Important state messages were sent by means of fire signals[3], from post to post, from the frontier of Babylon up to the present day Turkey, in a time of few hours, a distance of more than 300 miles.

The tablets do not merely report everyday matters, but they also communicate an impressive account of the religious life and ceremonies of the people. Twenty-five gods made up the Mari pantheon. A list of sacrificial lambs, which Zimri-Lim offered, refers to their occupants of heaven by name. The people of Mari kingdom lived a peaceful life. Trade and commerce flourished at its zenith. The royal city of Mari itself stood on the trade routs from West to East and North to South. From both within and without, clash of arms was seldom seen. Nevertheless they had to guard their flourishing fields from the ravages of the neighbouring Semitic tribes.

In Paris the Assyriologists were deciphering a clay tablet from the archives of Mari. They read with surprise a report from Bannum, an officer of the desert police: "Say to my Lord: This from Bannum, thy servant. Yesterday I left Mari and spent the night at Zuruban. All the Benjamites were sending fire-signals. From Samanum to Ilum-Muluk, from Ilum-Muluk to Mishlan, all the Benjamite villages in the Terqa district replied with fire-signals. I am not yet certain what these signals meant. I am trying to find out. I shall write to my lord whether or not I succeed. The city guards should be strengthened and my lord should not leave the gate[4]".

It is interesting to note that we get the mention of the Benjamites in the Bible too.

It is peculiar to note that in the Mari dynasties the years of each reign were not numbered but were identified with some memorable event, for instance the building, the erection of great dams, the strengthening of the banks of the Euphrates or a national census. In the chronological tables the Benjamites are mentioned three times:

"The year in which Iahdulim went to Hen and laid hands upon the territory of the Benjamites", is referred to in the reign of King Iahdulim of Mari and

"The year that Zimiri-Lim killed the Dawidum of the Benjamites."

1. See "Und die Bibel hat doch recht", by Werner Keller. This book has been translated into English by William Neil under the title "The Bible as history".
2. "Und die Bibel hat doch recht," by Werner Keller.
3. The same process is practiced by the Baluch highlanders hitherto.
4. "Und die Bibel hat doch recht", by Werner Keller.

"The year after Zimri-Lim killed the Dawidum of the Benjamites... in the reign of the last monarch of Mari, Zimri-Lim". It is worth mentioning that the peace-loving Mari kingdom is the first in the annals of the world to have taken the census of its people. The population was summoned by districts and a nominal roll was made of every man liable for enrollment. It provided a basis for taxation and for enlistment for military service. Thus it became a paragon to be followed by Babylonians and Assyrians, by Greeks and Romans and even by the nations of modern times.

In the case of roving Benjamite tribe, an elaborate correspondence between governors, district commissioners, and administrators of the Mari government takes place and the burning question was: Dare we take a census of the Benjamites? The majority of the officers advised against it. "Reference the proposal to take a census of the Benjamites, about which you have written me," begins a letter from Samsi-Addu to Iasmah-Addu in Mari. "The Benjamites are not well disposed to the idea of a census. If you carry it out, their kinsmen the Ra-ab-ay-yi, who live on the other bank of the river, will hear of it. They will be annoyed with them and will not return to their country. On no account should this census be taken."

On other clay tablets, the Assyriologists dealing with the reports of various governors of the Mari kingdom came across with names like Peleg and Serug, Nahor and Terah and—Hārān, which are too mentioned in Genesis II. "These are the generations of Shem", says Genesis II, "Peleg lived 30 years and begot Reu: and Reu lived 32 years and begot Serug: and Serug lived 30 years and begot Nahor: and Nahor lived 29 years and begot Terah: and Terah lived 70 years and begot Abram, Nahor, and Hārān". Names of Prophet Abraham's (may peace be on him) relatives emerge from these dark pre-historic ages as names of cities in North-West Mesopotamia. The descendants of Nahor are indisputably the present powerful Baluch tribe, the Nahoruis, who form a numerous section of the settled population of Seistān, the Garmsir district of Afghanistan and Herāt. According to the order of the Prophet Abraham (may peace be on him), his servant set out for the land of the kings of Mari and visited the Biblical city of Nahor[1]. This clearly depicts that Prophet Abraham (may peace be on him) was well acquainted with the cities of the Mari kingdom and that they were then flourishing cities. Similarly the finds at Mari confirm the accuracy of several Biblical accounts.

In concluding the origin of the Baluchis, some reference is necessary about their magnificent ancestors, the Kaldians. The difference of culture between the present Baluchis and their original ancestors, if compared, will act, as a strange phenomenon to mark the gradual fall of a race from the highest watermark of culture and glory to the nadir of depression and despondency—indeed a marvellous record of human decay and decline. The once founder of the first great civilization and pioneers of human intellectualism are now the barbarians of the twentieth century—the Age of the Atom. Around 3500 B.C. a Semitic migration, namely of the Kūshite race, took the East African route northward and planted themselves in Egypt, about the same time a parallel exodus followed the Eastern route Northward and struck

1. Genesis 24, 1—4, 10.

root in the Tigro-Euphrates valley and appeared as the Canaanites, Ammorites, Assyrians, Babylonians and Kaldians of the ancient Semitic history. All these races or tribes lived at same time in the same place as one people and spoke cognate languages[1].

The question of the origin of the Kaldians, 'the Casdim of the Scripture', has been the subject of copious discourse and discussion. Kaldia was one of the cradles of human civilisation and stands forth as the original inventress and paragon of the Asiatic civilisation, without any rival, that can dispute her claims. Kaldia is a name which is used to designate the country, race, kingdom and empire better known in history as Babylon, both in the Sacred Scriptures and mundane literature. The word 'Kaldian' was also applied as a race-name to the Babylonians[2]. The name is applied to Abraham's dwelling place in the country of Ur[3] beyond Mesopotamia. Isaiah calls the metropolis of Babylon itself 'the beauty of the Chaldees excellency'. It is also supposed that this name Kasdu-Kaldu was derived from Chesed (Kesed) the son of Nahor, the nephew of Prophet Abraham (may peace be on him) (Gen. xxii 22). They are thought to have owed the foundation of their polity and institution to Nimrod, (Gen. X. 11).

Michaelis the German Philologist irrationally states the Kaldians as Scythes. According to Dicearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, and a philosopher of high repute, they were first designated Cephenes from Cepheus, and afterwards Kaldians from Kaldeus, an Assyrian king, fourteen in succession from Ninus; this Kaldeus built Babylon near the Euphrates and placed the Kaldians in it[4]. This appears to confirm the passage in Isaiah, 'Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not, till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwelt in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof' (ch xxiii. v, 13). The use of term Kaldian, like that of Assyrian, was vague. The name Kaldian has been applied at different periods to the entire country watered by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, south of the Armenian plateau, only a part to it, to a race, and finally to a class of the priesthood. In one of the passages in Judith (chap. v, ver, 6, and 7); it is remarkable to note that the Jews are spoken of as descendants of the Kaldians. Some held that the ancient Kaldians came from the North, and were Kooths, Kylops, or Ethiopians and connected with Egyptians.

The Jews thus claim their great progenitor an Urite or Surite of the Kasds, Kasdim[5] or Kuthites of Kaldia, a race that were long subsequent to the famous Akkadians and Sumerians. The Sumerians established themselves in the Tigris-Euphrates valley about 4000 B.C. and they were closely related to the people of India. They were conquered by the Akkadians in 2500 B.C. Under their leader, Sargon I, the first great Semitic ruler in history. As to the language of the Kaldians nothing can be said with certainty. A faint argument, however, responds to our quest when we hear Eliakim saying to the officers of the Assyrian king—'Speak, I pray thee, to

1. 'Civilization Past and Present, by T. Walter Wallbank and Alastair M. Taylor, Vol. I, p. 268
2. Dan. III. 8, V. 30, ix. I.
3. Judith, V. 7.
4. Stephanus, Dict. Hist. Geog.
5. The proper name of Kaldia was Chusdia, the land of the Cushites. (Bryant III, 114).

thy servants in the Syrian language for we understand it[1].' From this it can be inferred that the language of the Assyrians was similar to that of the Syrians and therefore akin to a Semitic dialect and the cuneiform inscriptions show that the language of the Kaldians was Assyrian. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Kaldian tongue entered upon a Hebraic Phase[2]. The Kaldians were a Semitic or Syro-Arabian people belonging to the Kūshite branch. Nimrod calls himself a Kaldian and he was the descendant of Kūsh.

The language spoken by the Prophet Abraham (peace be upon him) when he left Mesopotamia, distinctly resembled the Hebrew; and his own name was definitely Semitic. The name of Mesopotamia on the Egyptian monuments is Naharaina *i.e.* the country between the two rivers. This is a Semitic name and has a Semitic plural form. It can be adduced that the inhabitants of that region were of Semitic lineage. Moreover, even today, the Kaldians of Kurdistan speak a dialect closely akin to the Hebrew. Modern researches regarding the study of the Assyro-Babylonian, Hebrew, Arabic and Ethiopic languages have proved that these languages were cognates. The Akkadians, the Ammorites, the Kassites, the Assyrians, the Kaldians, the Hebrews, and the Phoenicians were Semitic. The Kaldians distinguished themselves among all the eastern nations, in astronomy and other attainments in fine and liberal arts. The fertility of the land, the mastery of the desert and the sound polity of the state, all combined together acted on the Kaldian mind like a powerful incentive and made it more active in mundane affairs and more practical in natural speculations than that of some other races environed with similar circumstances and endowed with like gifts. A new era dawned on the culture of the two-rivered country after the settlement of the Kaldians.

The land of the Kaldees became cosmopolitan in culture, religion and philosophy. The 'Ur' of the Prophet Abraham (peace be upon him) was resounding with the shouts of every kind of worldly ease and aspiration along with the study of philosophy and astronomy at a time when the neighbouring countries moaned under the cruel dictates of sheer ignorance, stark brutality and barbarism of the worst type. Babylon, the Kaldian capital, boasted of several magnificent architectural workmanship and it became the most important city of its time. Commerce, art, industry and literature flourished at its zenith. In the field of astronomy several discoveries were made, and astronomers of today are much indebted to the Kaldian mind. This glorious race gave to the world prophets and priests, savants and scholars, historians and heiroglyphics, artists and autotypographists. Media, Assyria and Persia as they received from Kaldia the stamp of their writing, so they were obliged to the same country for their general conceptions of administration and government, arts and architecture, literature and science. She stood forth as the parent of Asiatic civilisation. Speaking of Semitic races, Dr. Prichard writes: "The Syro-Arabian nations are amongst the races of men who display the most perfect physical organisation. A well-known modern writer, who has had extensive opportunities of research into the anatomical and other corporeal characters of various nations, has maintained that bodily fabric

1. 26th verse of the 18th Chapter on 2nd Kings.
2. 'Rivers of Life', by J. G. R. Forlong, Vol. II, p. 53.

belonging to the Syro-Arabian tribes, manifests even a more perfect development in the organic structure, subservient to the mental faculties, than that which is found in other branches of the human family. It is certain that the intellectual powers of the Syro-Arabian people have, in all ages, equalled the highest standard of the human faculties . . . 'It is remarkable that the three great systems of theism which have divided the civilised world, came forth from nations of Shemite origin, among whom arose the priests or prophets of all those nations, who hold the unity of God[1]'. Mr. Forlong writes, "even those European classical writers who erroneously give to the Greek language and Civilization an Egyptian origin, cannot avoid showing us that Greeks attributed their genius, impetus, and intellectual advancement to Eastern life and thought emanating from Koothite Kaldia."

Even today, the Baluchis, though since thousands of years distracted from their original homeland, Kaldia (Arabia), yet the cultural pattern of the former is just the same as that of a Semite. Their dress, features and customs are quite akin to those of the latter. Just like the Beduin, nomadism with all its natural charms is as dear to them as industrialism is to the occidental people. Agriculture and other crafty arts are below their racial dignity. The tribal spirit and clan-organisation like those of the Arabs are the mainspring of their political and social life.

To know something about the earliest migratory period of the Baluchis and their severance from Kaldia, is a matter which cannot be disposed of now, as our sources of ancient history are far too scanty to unveil the veil of that period. No systematic synchronological table has been chartered out so far. The spasmodical ebbing and flowing of dynasty after dynasty in the days of yore has caused much racial confusion among the Eastern nations. It, however, appears that the Aryan and Turānian races were in the nomadic state when Kūshite-Kaldians settled as peaceful owners of lower Babylonia and applied themselves to laborious arts.... establishment of government's building of temples and cities, agriculture and astronomy, etc.

The following synchronological table mainly depends upon the Canon of Ptolemy (a Babylonian record) and Sir H. Rawlinson's Assyrian Canon. We are here concerned only with the Kaldian dynasties, hence many intervening dynasties has been left out.

(*a*) The Kūshite kingdoms established in lower Kaldia—2400 B.C.

(*b*) King of Elam....Kudur....Nanundi carries away the goddess of Erek and devastates whole country....2280 B.C.

(*c*) Izdubar or Nimrod, the Belus, slays Humbab, king of Elam, and re-establishes Kaldian kingdom....2250 B.C. Before this according to Berosus, Median kings ruled in Kaldia. The Jews held that in 2234 B.C. Nimrod, son of Kūsh, great grandson of Prophet Noah ruled Kaldia. This is the first Kaldian dynasty and eleven Kaldi kings ruled till 1976 B.C. Emperor Belus[2] ruled Babylon 2130 B.C. Berosus states that Ilgi, 8th king of Kaldian dynasty ruled Kaldia in 2050 B.C. Zoozims,

1. 'Researches into the physical history of Mankind' by Dr. Prichard, Vol. iv, pp. 548-549.
2. Emperor Belus was, too, worshipped as a god both in his life time and afterwards. His followers and nearest subjects addressed themselves Belusis, a mark of their reverence to the emperor.

Emims, Hoorites, Horites, and Rephaim mentioned in all lands from Phenicia to Kaldia, showing that Kūshites are moving west.

(*d*) Arid Sin....King of Kaldia....1900 B.C. Asharliel....nisis, king or viceroy of Assyria. Isma Dagon, king of Karak. Shamas rules as Kaldian viceroy.... 1850 B.C.

(*e*) Naram-Sin rules, but his rule extends little beyond his capital Larsa. Sin Shada, king, finishes temple of Beltis at Erek. Iluba and Iritak, kings of Assyria. Baleus or Bel-Kap-Kapu, king, reputed founder of monarchy....1750 B.C.

(*f*) Egyptian Kings—1700 B.C.

(*g*) End of Kusho-Kaldian kingdom....1600 B.C. Arabs in ascendant, and language Semetic. At this time Mesopotamia threw out emigrants westward into Syria and North-west into Aram....specially Kaldian emigrants. (Mark the Baluch traces in Syria, hereunto).

(*h*) Hamurabi, a foreigner, rules Babylon, now capital of Kaldia....1550 B.C. (Arabian Dynasty secure 1530 B.C.).

(*j*) Samshoo....iloona, builds Sun-temple (1518 B.C.) at Larsa. End of second Kaldian dynasty, when Arabs rule till 1273.

(*k*) Babylon known as Soomir and Akad. Bel Soomili-Rapi, or Assurbel—Nisin, and Belokus or Buzur Asher, Kings of Assyria.....1450 B.C.

(*l*) Bel-Nirari, king of Assyria, conquers Babylon. Kaldia completely fused into Babylon....1370 B.C.

(*m*) Assyrian Empire now strong; began 1286 B.C. Dynasty of Assyrian kings reign over Babylon till 747 B.C.

(*n*) Power of Babylon nearly extinct, and nationalities being destroyed by mixtures....745 B.C. New dynasty. Tiglath Pileser II. He mixes together all the captive races so as to prevent combination.

(*o*) Babylon and Arabia all under Assyrian Empire-reaching from Egypt to the limits of Persia and Armenia down into Arabia....729 B.C. Assyrian Empire still in its zenith.

(*p*) Ancient Kaldians very strong in Elān and Armenia[1]. Hagisa and Belibus rule Babylon. 705 B.C. (Mark the movements of Kaldians towards Elān). In 692 B.C. at the great battle of Halub, Elam and Babylon completely sacked. In 685 B.C. Mesesi-Mordakus in Babylon. In 647 B.C. the Arabo-Kūshites displaced the Africo-Kūshites of upper Egypt or Abysinia and a little later a great migration of Kaldians takes place (from Mesopotamian delta) towards Armenia and Media[2]. In 626 B.C.

1. The Kaldians named Armenia as Urartu—the Assyrian name for the country. The ancient name Urartu is identical with the country of Ararat, on one of whose mountains Noah's ark stopped, according to Genesis. The country of Urartu in due course of time was flooded by the Kaldian migrants and it became practically a Kaldian land. Its inhabitants, in their cuneiform inscriptions call themselves Kaldini. The Kaldians founded a kingdom in Urartu, and Menuas, the son of Ispuinis was the mightiest ruler of this Kaldian line. Ispuinis was the contemporary of Adadnirari IV of Assyria—son of Shalmanesar III and husband of Queen Shammuramat (Semiramis). The kings who followed Ispuinis were weak and lost more royal power then they achieved. The last of this group of Urartu-Kaldian rulers Rusas III, son of Erimenas proved to be timid and indecisive. His kingdom and the Kaldi temple built by him at Toprakkalah was most probably destroyed completely by the Medes during their march through Armenia before they fought against the Lydians on the Halys (585 B.C.).
2. During this age, we find the Meds affiliating with the Baluchis (Kaldians) and, hereunto, we find a strong tribe of Baluchis named, Med, inhabiting the coastal region of Makurān.

Babylon, tries to throw off Assyria. In 612 B.C. again Babylonian kingdom extends to Egyptian and Persian frontier up to Lūristān. A great movement of the Kaldians in these areas of Persian territory.

(*q*) Fall of Assyrian Empire....607 B.C.

(*r*) Fall of the last Babylonian Monarchy in 538 B.C. after lasting 88 years. Persia conquering Ionia.

The later Assyrian and Babylonian rulers succumbed to the wantonness of the courts and peoples whom they conquered; they cared more for the ornamental than the useful, the ephemeral popularity than the eternal efficacy, and egoistic pleasures than altruism. Inspite of these shortcomings, the degeneration was speeded by the corruption of the priesthood so much so that each house had raised alter or place of worship. It was now a time when the Babylonians and Assyrians had to stand bewildered and witness a new epoch. The deluge of fate was to be directed by a great race—the Achaemenians who like pent up water when suddenly let loose, extended their dominions far and wide beyond Persia proper by rolling first their desolating flood over less energetic nations. This new change both in the political and social domain brought forth great turmoil in fertile plains of Arabia watered by Tigris and Euphrates. The last great ruler of the second Kaldian dynasty was Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar under whom the Kaldian empire reached its height. Under him, we find a thorough amalgamation of the Kaldians and Babylonians, who had therefore been considered as two kindred branches of the same Semite stock, and in due course of time no sharp differences existed between them. He subdued the little Jewish kingdom of Judah in 587 B.C. He was followed six years after his death by Nabonidus (553) who was the worst ruler of his line. He left the reins of the government in the hands of his playboy son, Prince Belshazzar. Belshazzar was defeated by Cyrus, the Great, the Achaemenian ruler, and thus the fate of the Kaldian Empire was sealed in 538 B.C.

In 536 B.C. we find Assyria and Babylon commanded by the Achaemenian lords who forced the Assyrians and Babylonians from early ancestral seats of empire and enhanced their own civilization by uprooting their pristine, religious and social exclusiveness. The Persian ascendency threw upon the coast of Persian gulf and inland of the northerly provinces a strange medley of races. Great multitudes of the worthy scion of the great races—the Kūshites, Kaldians and Assyrians unable to stem the fierce torrent migrated in cloudy masses from their original homeland Kaldia and Babylonia and settled in the Armenian and Kurdistān highlands. As such we learn from the Shāh Nāmeh of Firdausi, that the Achaemenian sovereigns employed the men of Gīlān, Alān, Saroch, Koch, Baloch and Kurdistānīs. As stated above in the synchronological table that in 708 B.C. and 612 B.C. the Kaldians and Babylonians moved towards the northerly province of Persia. A kūshite flux took the route of the Persian gulf and consequently they touched the coastal regions of Baluchistan. Even today in Makurān (Baluchistan), we have a fairly large number of Ethiopic-Kūshites, and Meds (the descendants of the ancient Medians who ruled Assyria in 2500 B.C.).

Arrian, the Greek historian, mentions the inhabitants of Makurān, as Oreitai.

It is probable that a branch of the Kūshite[1] race namely the Hoorites or Horites[2] might have trickled through the coast of the Persian Gulf and settled in the maritimus regions of Baluchistan long before the Greek invasion of Persia. Similarly, we find in the time of the Achaemenian and Sāsānid rulers, the Baluchis[3] as occupying the Northern parts of Persia. During the Arab conquest of Persia the bulk of the Baluchis peopled the Kirmān province.

1. Throughout the Sāsānid period Baluchistan was known as Kussun which seems to be a corrupt form of Kūsh.
2. The Horites came to Kaldia and Syria in the year 2050 B.C.
3. The Kaldians served under their Achaemanian and Kiānian rulers of Persia as the cream of their army for a period of more than one thousand years, and during this period they lost their ethnic entity alongwith their original language but maintained their ,royal family or supreme deity's name *i.e.* Belus, instead of their racial name—Kaldian. Hence we hear of the race in the ancient Persian annals as Baluchis and not Kaldians.

CHAPTER II

THE WANDERING OF THE BALUCH RACE

We have summarily discussed, in the preceding chapter, the downfall of the race from the summit of glory to the abyss of gloom and obscurity. Henceforth, their historic fall, far more than two thousand years, the Baluchis had been engaged in a struggle for survival in alien lands under alien domination, and the supreme mastery once lost, has ever remained lost. The same is true in the case of some other once mighty nations of the globe. After the fall of the Roman, the Greek, and the Persian civilizations, these nations could not sustain the blow till the present age though cradled in their national lands. We read, not the less, some extraordinary events effected by the Baluchis both in Persia and India that shaped to some degree, the course of the history of those countries. They, in fact, strove hard to glorify the history of alien dynasties rather than their own. After the flashing glory of Chākar, with the exception of the Tālpur house until it was smashed by a power that carried in its hand an Imperial hammer, to hammer the destiny of the people whom they met, in a way, other than the will of the vanquished; we find, the entire Baluch race without any concause, sadly divided and subdivided into clans and sub-clans, each striving for mere existence. Since that age till now at erst, they have been never able to assert themselves in their own land, Baluchistan. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had been unkind to the Baluch race. As things depict today, they proved as an unenterprizing individual with all the drawback of a true nomad. Evolution, progress and change are the laws which they scoff at and refuse. Before their settlement in Baluchistan proper, they had been for centuries an eye-sore to all the neighbouring rival Princedoms with which they came into contact. Since their fall, they possessed no government, no separate independent country, no common cause to defend and so no history to trust for praise. If the present Baluch race was to be swept from the face of the globe, they would leave hardly a monument to record their past existence. They have depopulated and not peopled places. Forays, cold-blood murder and internal dissensions were the salt of their life. Their annals eventually resemble the annals of outlaws. Rarely remarkable changes in human affairs have been brought about by races whose lives thrive, where thrives ignorance, lawlessness and famine. Similar has been the consuetudinal life of the Baluchis blemished by a chain of incompatible and ineluctable events from within and without through-

out the madieval age. We find, occassional references of the race, in the historical works dealing with the stormy periods that changed the fate of Persia after the extinction of the Baghdād caliphate and their successors, the Seljuks of Persia. The Baluchis left their original homeland Kaldia i.e. Babylon in 708 and 612 B.C. and settled in northern provinces of Persia coterminus with Black Sea *i.e.* Kurdistān, Armenia and Gilān. For more than one thousand years, they lived in these mountain regions, and ered to arms, served as the elite of the armies of the Achaemenian and Sāsānids sovereigns. During the Caliphate of the Pious Caliphs, we find the race scattered over the central parts of Persia, mainly inhabiting the Kirmān province. Nothing is known for certainty regarding the period embracing their migration from the northernly provinces till their settlement in Kirmān.

Firdausi's estimation

In the Persian annals, we first hear the name of the race in the big epical work of Firdausi, who describes the Baluchis as the backbone of the Persian Army in their wars against the Turānians. The former nearly finished his big epic in A.H. 400. He introduces the Baluchis in the army of Kaikāūs and Kaikhusro. The Shāhnāmeh's passage runs as follows:—

"After Gushtahm came Ashkash. His army was from the wanderers of the Koch and Baloch, intent on war and with exalted cockscomb and crest whose back none in the world ever saw, nor was one of their fingers bare of armour . . . His banner bore the figure of a tiger."

According to the Shāhnāmeh, Kaikāūs sent his General Siyāwush against Afrāsiyāb and collected the following contingents:—

'Then from his famous cavaliers, Kaus chose twelve hundred gallant warriors, while from the neighbourhood of Kuch and Pars, Baluch and from the deserts of Saruch and warriors of Gīlān, he chose for war twelve thousand infantry and bucklers-men'.

The allusion of the race under Nausherwān's reign is important historically as this king is not a mythical personage but the Khusro of the classical writers who marshaled his forces against Justinian. Firdausi describes his exploits as accurately as possible. Nausherwān's exploits with the Gīlāns and Alāns are historical but Firdausi adds Baluchis too who according to him proved very troublesome. The actual passage from Shāhnāmeh as translated by an eminent western scholar runs as follows:—

'The Shah marched thence to Hindustan and sojourned there.
At his commandment all folk came to him,
Came seeking to ingratiate themselves,
And for two miles besides the Indus-bank
Were horses, elephants, brocades and coin
The great men all with honesty of heart
And loyalty appeared before the Shah,
Who questioned them in accordance to their rank
With jocund heart the Shah departed thence,
Troops, steeds, and elephants fulfilled the world,
He went his way, and tidings came to him:—

'The world is wasted by the Baluchis,
Till from exceeding slaughter, pillaging
And harrying, the earth is overwhelmed,
But greater ruin cometh from Gilan,
And curses banish blessings'. Thence the heart
Of Nausherwan, the Shah, was sorrowful,
And grief commingled with his joy. He said
to the Iranians: 'The Alans and Hind were,
In their terror of our scimitars, like silk.
'Now our own realm is turned against us:
Shall we hunt lions and forego the sheep?
One said to him: 'The garden hath no rose,
Without a thorn, O King! So too these marches,
Are ever troublesome and treasure-wasting.
As for Baluch the glorious Ardashir tried it with
All his veteran officers,
But all his strategems and artifices,
His feints, his labours, arms, and fighting failed.
And though the enterprise succeeded ill,
He cloaked the failures even to himself'.
This story of the (failure) enraged the Shah,
Who went upon his way towards the Baluch.
Now when he drew near those lofty mountains,
He went around them with his retinue,
And all his host encircled them about,
And barred the passage e'en to wind and ant,
The troops, like ants and locusts, occupied,
The mountains—outskirts to the sandy deserts.
A herald went his rounds about the host,
Proclaiming from the mountains, caves, and plains:—
'Whene'er the Baluchis are seeking food
If they be warriors and carrying arms,
However many or however few,
Let not a single one of them escape'.
The troops, ware of the anger of the Shah,
Stopped every outlet with their horse and foot;
Few of the Baluchis or none survived,
No women, children, warriors, were left.
All of them perished by the scimitar,
And all their evil doings had an end,
The world had quiet from their ravagings:
No Baluchi seen or unseen remained,
While on their mountains, so it came to pass,
The herds thenceforward strayed without a guard;
'Alike on waste and lofty mountain-top,

The sheep required no shephered. All the folk
Around thought nothing of past sufferings,
And looked on vale and mountain as their home'.

* * *

'The wolf's claws grow too short to reach the sheep
World without end strife with Blauch had raged,
And filled the cities with distress and anguish.
But by the grace, Nausherwan, the sky
had changed its use and favour'.

Later on, as shown by the author of Shāhnāmeh, the Baluchis in alliance with the Persians swelled the ranks of Nausherwān's army. The Shāhnāmeh further narrates that Nausherwān ordered his army to receive the ambassador of the Khāqān of Chīn with a royal guard consisting of the men of Gīlān, Alān and Baluch bedecked with golden shields.

On another occasion, the Emperor marched towards Adherbaijan with a force made up of contingents from Gīlān, Dailaman, the mountains of Baluchis, the plains of Saroch and the swordmen of Koch.

The Arabic-writing Persian Ahmad ibn-Yahya al-Beladhuri[1] mentions an interesting episode relating to one of the Baluch tribes during the Caliphate of 'Umar, the Great. He writes that Siyāh al-Suār, one of the dignitaries of Yazdjird was sent by the latter alongwith a strong army towards al-Ahwāz. He encamped near al-Kalbāniāh and in its vicinity Abu Mūsa al-Ash'āri besieged al-Sūs, ravaged the town and slaughtered the Persian garrison to the last man. The irresistable prestige and sweeping conquest of the Muslims unnerved Siyāh to an extent that he sent a secret errand to Abu Mūsa: "we are prepared to fight against all those who are thine arch-enemies; if some dissension issues between thyselves, we will observe neutrality; if thine men fight against us, then thou hast to take our side and not theirs, and we should be given free choice to live in any part of Arabia, we like, and thus join the tribe we select, and further we will be favoured with extraordinary favour and respect. Concerning the above terms, we want that these terms should be ratified by thine Supreme Command who has sent thee". "Thou can claim", replied Abu Mūsa, "the same rights we all possess, and thou art strictly bound with all those duties which art binding on us." Siyāh dissented, and Abu Mūsa wrote to Caliph 'Umar. "Concede to their all demands", was the Caliph's reply to Abu Mūsa and accordingly all concessions were granted. Siyāh abandoned the fort, joined the Arab army and disclosing the Persian strategy, played a leading part in the conquest of Shuster and its neighbouring territories. Afterwards,Siyāh alongwith his men left for Basrah and there he inquired about the tribe closely akin to the tribe of the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him.) Beni Tamīm was the unanimous answer of all, consequently, he leagued with them instead of Beni al-Azad. A little later, as chronicled by Belādhuri, the Siyāh Baja[2] and Zutt (Jat) tribes joined Siyāh Suār at Basrah. The new emigrants picked a quarrel with Bani-Tamīm and al-Suār

1. Futūh-al-Buldān, p. 373.
2. Tabari mentions them as Esā Bajah; Aghāni, Esta Bajah while Ibn Athīr, Esba Bajah.

had to join Beni Sād while Zutt and Siyāh Baja leagued with Beni Henzilah. On many occasions at the time of call, they joined their hands with the Arab tribes in their wars against the infidels. The rank and file of Ibn Amar were greatly swelled by the Siyāh Baja tribe during the siege of Khurāsān. The whole of Khurāsān humbled down before these ruddy fighters and the leader of the forces lavished riches on all ranks without any distinction. Abul Hassan al-Madāini gives another version of Siyāh. He mentions that Yazdjird on his way to Isfahān called for Siyāh who appeared before him. The Emperor appointed him as the head of three hundred choicest warriors, of whom seventy were most distinguished war-lords, besides commissioning him to conscript soldiers from various quarters. The Emperor with Siyāh advanced towards Istakhar and later on despatched Siyāh and Hurmuzān towards al-Kalbāniāh and Shustar respectively. Siyāh marshaled his men towards Shustar and halted between Shustar and Ramhurmuz where he met Amar. Siyāh collected his men and harangued: "Thou all know, what we used to say about the Arabs—that they will trample and subdue our empire and the palace of Istakhar will be soiled by the dung of their animals. Thou art witnessing the glory of this race; now it is time for thee, to pitieth thyselves and embrace their religion". All consented and converted to Islam. He (Siyāh) then sent Sherwiyah alongwith ten Persians to Abu Mūsa and the foresaid terms were patched up between them.

During the caliphate of 'Alī, Siyāh Bajah's were the key holder of the Baitul-mal of Basrah. When Talha bin 'Ubaidullah and Zubayr bin 'Awām came to Basrah, the men of Siyāh Bajah and Zutt set at defiance to hand over the keys of the Baitul-mal to them, and the former attacked the latter whose chief was then Abu Salmata Zutt. Accordingly Siyāh Bajah's and Zutt also attacked Attab bin Asiad[1]. During the despotic regime of the Umayyads, the family of Siyāh al-Suar of the Siyāh Bajah tribe played historic role. Marwan I (683-5), the founder of the Marwanid branch of the Umayyad dynasty, a little before his death, despatched Jayshi bin Daljah at the command of a Syrian force to al-Madīnah to get submission of the people of the Holy City. Both al-Mecca and al-Madīnah were lukewarm in their loyalty to the Umayyad house. The people of al-Hejāz both through conviction and convenience obeyed the authority of 'Abdullah bin Zubayr, the sole claimant to the Caliphate after the house of 'Ali. The former sent a force from al-Madīnah under 'Abbās bin Sahal Ansārī to meet the Syrian aggression. At Rabzah, the hostile forces crossed swords, and Jaysh, the Syrian general, was struck with an arrow by Zayd bin Siyāh al-Suar and died on the spot. Cowed with terror, the Syrian forces melted away pell-mell. Ibn Siyāh al-Suar attired in a robe of white and riding on his white Khurāsānian steed, entered al-Madīnah proudly and the Madīnites applauded him to the echo and sprinkled profusely perfumes and scents over him to an extent that his white attire turned black[2].

The Arab chroniclers have wrongly linked the Siyāh Bajah tribe with the Zutt (Indian Jat). As a matter of fact, Siyāh Bajah (Black-foot) is a formidable Baluch tribe still bearing the name Siyāh Pād (Black Foot), now sprinkled in Persia, Makurān,

1. Sair Ansār, Vol. II, p. 108, by Maulvi Saeed Sahib Ansārī, Azamgarh.
2. Tabari, Vol. II, Part II.

Sibi District (in Baluchistan), Sind and Derājāt country. The Indian Jats migrated from Sind enroute to Persia through Makurān and inhabited the plains of Kirmān and the Persian Gulf coast long before the advent of Islam. They lived side by side with the Baluchis in Kirmān and other provinces of Persia. The constant and close contact of the Jats with the Baluchis, misled the Arab chroniclers in describing collateral relation between the two races.

The Siyāh Suār of Belādhuri is mentioned by the late Malik Behār, the poet-laureate, of late Rezā Shah Pehlavi, in his 'Shāh Nāmeh-i-Nau Bakht', as Siyāh Baluch. Malik Behār attributes to the evil machination of Siyāh Baluch, the conquest of Shuster and other neighbouring forts. The poet severely reprimands the Baluch hero's pious fraud. He versifies that N'ūmān ibn Maqran, the Arab commander, being unsuccessful in his military enterprise sought the help of Siyāh Baluch who turned treacherous towards his own land (Persia). Through intense fury, the poet in his epic, addresses Siyāh Baluch as a scoundrel, a villian, a circumventive, an insidious and an illaudable person. The incident of Siyāh Bajah has great ethnographical significance. This Siyāh Baluch or Siyāh Suār belonged to Siyāh Bajah (Siyāh Pād) tribe. The ancient Baluch traditions speak of the name of Siyāh as the first ancestor of the Siyāh Pād (Black foot) tribe.

The migration of the Baluch race to Kirmān most probably had been consequent to the invasion of the Ephathalits or white 'Huns' which took place at that period. They are referred in the Shāh Nāmeh under the name of Hayital.

Sixty-five years after Nausherwān's death, the Arab conquest of Kirmān took place. The conquest was pushed on by the orders of Caliph 'Umar in A.H. 23. The earliest chroniclers who described the invasion are; al-Belādhuri who died in A.H. 279-A.D. 892; Tabari who wrote his voluminous history about A.H. 320-A.D. 932; Mas'ūdi whose geography is dated 332 A.H.-943 A.D. and Istakhari, circa 340 A.H.-951 A.D.

Only Mas'ūdi and Istakhari mention the name of Baluch and Koch. Both races according to Istakhari spoke languages of their own, distinct from Persian which was the common language of Kirmān. The Baluchis, continues he, live in the Qufs mountains where none dares penetrate. They owe cattle and live in tents. The routes through their country are not safe[1].

Al-Adrīsi wrote that the mountains were inhabited by a wild race similar to the Kurds, while the 'Balos' (Baluchis), lived to the north and some to the West[2].

A latter source relates that when 'Abdullah conquered the capital of Kirmān, the Kirmānis urged help from 'Kuj' and 'Buluj' (Koch and Baluch) but to no purpose[3]. Yākūti who completed his geography in A.H. 615 classified the mountains of Kirmān into those of the Koch, Baluch and Qārān. His description conforms with the description of Istakhari. He writes that the Koch (Qufs) were tall and cruel and lived by pillage. The Balus were formerly the most cruel of raiding tribes but were annihilated by Abād-ud-Dawla Dailami whose unhappy reign saw its beginning

1. Mordtmann's 'Istakhri', p. 115.
2. Jaubert's 'Edrisi', pp. 428-429.
3. 'Tārīkh-i-Guzīda' by Hamdullah Mustawfi of Qazwin (Circa. A.D. 1340).

and end from A.H. 338-372 (A.D. 949-983). M'uizz-ud-Dowlah, his uncle, also encountered with the wilds of Kirmān termed by some as Kurds and by others Koch and Baluchis. He lost his hands in the battle. Thence was known as 'Aqta' or crippled. The same writer further quotes an Arabic verse: "What wild regions have we traversed inhabited by Jats (Zutt), Kurds and savage Qufs". In the 4th century of the Hijra, the Baluchis were certainly established in the Kirmān mountains side by side with the Koch while Makurān was mainly in the hands of the Jats. The famous Y'aqūt ibn 'Abdullah Al-Hamwi (1179-1229 A.D.), who completed his Mu'jam-ul-Buldān in 1228 A.D. at Allepo, mentions 'Balos' (Baluchis) and Qufs inhabiting the Kirmān mountains. He states that none dared to face the savagery of the Qufs except the Baluchis who owed cattle and sheep.

In Istakhri's time two provinces of Seistān were known as Baluch country. The author of the Tabkāt-i-Nāsiri[1] mentions that he halted in a place at Seistān called Gumbaz-i-Baluch. Curious to mention that during the reign of Mahmūd of Ghazni, the Baluchis robbed his ambassador en-route to Kirmān between Tabas and Khabis. Consequently, Mahmūd sent his own son, Mas'ūd, who ravaged them at Khabis near Kirmān hills[2]. The Emperor, we are told, on one occasion, to destroy these highway robbers, applied an interesting strategem best suited to the time and tune. A caravan of poisoned apples was purposely sent through their territory. Unaware of the mischief, the Baluchis robbed the caravan and devoured the apples ravenously. Like the shirt of Nessus, the poison acted as a pestilent disease. The chronicler describing the episode envisages it as a pleasant and facetious scheme in extirpating these highwaymen.

The Baluchis have been a floating population of equestrian tribes ranging over the Persian Empire from time to time. In Persia, the Province of Kirmān had been their chief abode for a considerable time since the conquest of Persia by Arabs to the general migratory period of the race towards India. According to M'uīn-ud-Dīn-az-Zamchi-al-Isfizāri (1491 A.D.)[3] they formed the bulk of the nomadic and settled section of the population in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the land north of Herāt neighbouring Bādghīs. Even today, the Baluchis form an important section of the population of Zamindāwār district of Afghanistan.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Koch and Baluch are described as the tribes inhabiting the Garmsir who made peace with Ameer of Hurmuz, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Shahinshah.

Besides the Baluchi ballads and traditions, we have little resources to deal with the then nascent Baluch migration from Kirmān, Seistān and Persian Baluchistan towards the country which they occupy now. Folklore and traditions bespeak of Ameer Jalāl Khan as the leader of the Baluch flux in the end of the eleventh century, occupying the mountains of Kirmān and the desert of Lūt. It is from this Chief that the traditional era of the Baluch begins. Among his four sons, Rind, Koraī, Lāshār, and

1. 'Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī' by Minhaj-ud-Din 'Uthmān bin Sirāj-ud-Dīn.
2. Jāmi-ul-Hikāyāt, Ed. II, pp. 193-194.
3. See "Rawzat-ul-Jannat-fi-l-Ausāf-i-Madinat-i-Herāt."

Hot; Rind dominated all, in valour, reputation and fame. From his descendants, descended the epical hero of the Baluch race—Ameer Chăkar ibn Ameer Shaihak.

When the 12th century had run half of its course, a great exodus of the race streamed towards Seistān where according to the local traditions was expelled by Malik Shams-ud-Dīn's successors. Probably he is the same Malik of Tabkā-i-Nāsirī recorded as Malik Shams-ud-Dīn of Saffari pedigree who expired in 1166 A.D. He was the son and successor of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn Abul-Fazal Nasr, and succeeded to the throne after his father's demise in 559 A.H. Accordingly from Seistān, they were again driven towards Bampur and the present Persian Baluchistan. In the end of the 15th century the great Baluch migration took place eastwards towards Makurān and the Central Kalāt highlands. The dawn of the 16th century, saw the whole of Baluchistan and Sind a teeming hive of Baluchis. This general exodus has been due to the Turkish aggressors, the Ghuz, Khawārazm troops, the Mongols, the Timurids or the Karā Koinlu Turkomans who dictated the destiny of Kirmān province from the middle of the 15th century to the early years of the 16th century. The Mongol invasion of Persia did not directly affect the political life of the Baluch race, but the heinous flood streamed on their country, depositing its flatsam and jatsam in Persian Baluchistan. The early migration of the Baluchis in Sind according to their own traditions happened during the reign of Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn *alias* Jām Nindo son of Bābinah son of Unar of Samah dynasty who succeeded to the dominions of Jām Sanjar on the 29th November 1469 A.D. and breathed his last in 1517 A.D[1]. The tradition of the Baluchis seems to be less creditable. Before their general exodus during the 16th century into Baluchistan and Sind, we find the mention of the Baluchis in Sind even much earlier. During the close of the 12th century, Baluchis are mentioned to have been employed by the contemporary Sumrah ruler of Sind. The race, as it appears, advanced even up to Multān. In 727 A.H. (1326 A.D.) Muhammad Shāh Taghlak son of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn left Kishwar Khan in charge of Sind. The latter came to Multān, raised an army consisting of Multānīs and Baluchis and erected the standard of rebellion against the King. In 1327 A.D., Kishwar Khan was defeated and killed by the royal army and his head was sent as a trophy to the Sultān[2].

In the first decade of the 16th century, several Baluch tribes spread in the Punjab as far as Bherā where Emperor Bābur met them in 1519 A.D. as stated in his autobiography. On another occasion, as written in his autobiography, Bābur reminds Daulat Khan Lodhi, how the former delivered him along with his son from the hands of the Baluchis[3]. In 1529 A.D. Bābur is reported to have arrayed a punitive expedition

1. According to Mirzā Kalich Beg's 'history of Sind' Jām Sanjar died in 896 A.H. (1490 A.D.) After Jām Sanjar, Jam Nindo ascended the throne. According to the above author, he died after a rule of 48 years and mentions the date of the death of Jam Nindo as 914 A.H. (1508 A.D.) which he deems correct quoting his authority the book 'Tuhfat-ul-Kirām'. This shows that Jam Nindo ruled only for 18 years but the author states 48 years. The exact date of Jam Nizām-ud-Dīn's rule is 1469—1517 A.D.
2. "History of Sind", by Mirza Kalich Beg, p. 19.
3. Ilminski, pp. 334, 335.

against the Baluchis who deemed it as their hereditary right to plunder the Punjab Province[1]. The Rind Baluchis ruled Baluchistan for about one third of a century. Before the domination of Kalāt proper by the Rind (Baluch) dynasty, its neighbouring territories and dependencies were ruled by several petty Moghul Princes of the Barlas tribe. The lives of the majority of these rulers were passed in inglorious tardiness and their reigns were unmarked by a single achievement worthy of appreciation. Within the states grew satellites. The whole of the Kalāt highland was infested by the minor troubles amongst the Turkish chiefs whose power and feigning prestige were swallowed up in the terrible victory of the Baluch invasion.

Ameer Shaihak, the Rind, established his authority over Makurān for a longtime but the octogenary chief, feeble enough to handle the responsibility of the race, gave the supreme authority to his illustrious son, Ameer Chākar. The facts of Ameer Chākar's reign are difficult to arrange chronologically on account of the lack of any contemporary work dealing with the then Baluchistan. Muhammad Sidīq in his manuscript "History of the Khānate", says little or nothing about Chākar's life and times. As a consequence, the trend of events portrayed here, are, therefore, somewhat tentative.

Subjugation of Sibi

Ameer Chākar after consolidating the whole of Makurān added Khārān and Las-bela to the Baluch realm. His next move was towards the central Kalāt highlands. Kalāt proper was then the capital of the Meerwānis. The supremacy of the Meerwānis (a clan of the Brahuis) over Kalāt is a question which yet remains to be disposed of. Subjugating Kalāt, he appointed his relative, Mandaw, as the Governor of Kalāt and himself destined for Kachhi, marched through Bolan Pass. At Sibi, he challenged the might of Jām Nandā, commonly known in history as Nizām-ud-Din[2] of the Sammah dynasty; with spartan vigour defeated the latter and added Sibi to his conquests. Few years before, the very Jām Nandā had defeated the force of Shah Beg and Muhammad Beg, the Arghuns. Jām Nandā sent his forces under Daryā Khan also known as Mubārak Khan who attacked the Arghun Army at Jalogeer near Bībīnānī in 1486 A.D., crushed the Arghun flux by killing their leader Muhammad Beg on the spot. Some reference is necessary about the Arghun intrusion in the political drama of Baluchistan staged in the end and beginning of the 15th and 16th centuries respectively. The story of the Arghuns has a special connection with the Baluchis of Chākarian regime. A Baluch of our time, if hears the name of Arghuns, his mind at once recollects the traditional contact and contest of the Arghun hero-Zunnūn.

1. "An Empire builder of the 16th century", by F. Rushbrook Williams, p. 168.

2. In 1351 A.D. the Sumerah rulers of Sind had been superseded by the Sammahs—another tribe of Rājpūt extraction. The Sammah claimed that the fons et origo of the tribe was one Sām and hence the name Sammah. But the names of their early rulers like Juna and Tamachi betray their claim and show their affinity with the Rājpūts. Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn was, "fond of art and literature and an industrious person, regular in his prayers and very religious."

According to Chākar's statement, he held his sway for about 25 years over Sibi.

Arghun's appearance in Baluchistan and their conflict with the Baluchis

In 1486 A.D. Jām Nandā defeated Arghuns at Jalogeer and the same year Chākar completely initiated the displacement of the Sammah dynasty from Sibi. After the capture of Sibi by Chākar, Jām Nandā secretly conferred Sibi to Shāh Bēg Arghun to create trouble for Chākar. It is mentioned in the 'Aīn-i-Akbari', that the "Siwi Fort" was conferred as a fief in 1488 A.D. on Shāh Bēg, the son of Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn by Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn of Sind. Mirza Shāh Bēg was driven out of Kandahār by Bābur in 913 A.H. (1507 A.D.). About 1511 A.D[1]. Shāh Bēg marched against Sibi to resume his fief and captured the town after a hot contest. The Rind traditional ballads glow with description of the heroic fight of Chākar against Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn who as said was assisted by the Lāshārī-Baluchis under their Chief, Gohrām. Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn, nominee of Khāqān Mansoor Sultan Hussain Mirza of Herāt, over the territories of Kandahār, Farrah and Ghor, later on conquered Shāl (Quetta) and Mastung with its dependencies[2].

The Arghun Chief, Zunnūn[3], later on left the service of Sultan Hussain Mirza and entered that of Sultan Abu-S'aīd Bahādur Khan. This monarch was defeated and put to death at Kara-Bagh by the Turkomans. Zunnūn then entered the service of the deceased monarch's son, Sultan Ahmed, the ruler of Māwara-un-Nahr. Immediately, in the court of Sultan Ahmed, quarrel arose between the Arghun and Tarkhān nobles, whence he again sought his fortune in the Court of Sultan Hussain Mirza. In 876 A.H. (1471-72 A.D.) Zunnūn was made Governor of Ghor and Zamin-i-Dāwār. In 884 A.H. (1478-79) he marched against the Hazārās and Nikaudarees and with might and main brought them into submission. Soon nature and fortune conspired to raise him at the pinnacles of fame. The territories of Kandahār, Farrah, Sakhar-Tulak, Shāl, Mastung, Pushang (Pishin) and Siwi with its dependencies were added to his fief. During the years 1487-1500 A.D., Chākar might have met Zunnūn either on the battle field as a rival or on friendly terms. The famous Baluchi traditions concerning the fight of Chākar with Zunnūn cannot be altogether ignored. Zunnūn was killed in the battle fought by Mirza Badī-uz-Zamān against Shahi Beg Khan or Shaibānī Khan near Badghis north of Herāt, in 914 A.H. (1507-8 A.D.). No real fight is mentioned between Zunnūn and the Rinds in the vicinity of Sibi. Mirza Shah Beg son of Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn left for the conquest of Sibi from Kandahār and on reaching Shāl (Quetta) was received with open arms by Fazal Kokaltash[4], 'Abdul 'Alī

1. Raverty gives this date as 923 A.H. (1517 A.D.). Most probably he has taken the date from Tarkhān Nāmeh.
2. Tārīkh-i-M'āsūmi by Syed Muhammad M'āsūm Bakhari, edited by Dāūd Potra, p. 81.
3. Zunnūn was the descendant of Arghun bin Abaka Khan bin Halāku Khan, the grandson of Chengiz Khan, the Mongol. Emperor Bābur in his 'Tuzuk-i-Bāburi', gives another version regarding the genealogy of the Arghuns.
4. This Meer Fazal Kokaltash has been mentioned by Emperor Bābur as Darogha of Siwi and he is the father of Sultan Mahmūd Khan. In 950 A.H. (1543-44 A.D.) Mirza Shah Hussain, the son and successor of Shah Beg Arghun, bestowed the Government of the District of Siwi upon Sultan Mahmūd Khan who died in 982 A.H. at the age of 84. His Jāgīr was given to Meer M'āsūm by Emperor Akbar. Kokal-tash is a Mughal title and can be traced to as early as the time of Chengiz Khan.

Tarkhān and the other Umerās. From Shāl, he started for Sibi, after subduing it, beseiged Fatehpur. At Gandāwa, the descendants of Sultan Peer Wali Barlas[1] assembled his men, the tribes of Daulatshāhi, Barghadāī, Koriāyī[2], and Noorgāhi together with a considerable force of other Baluch tribes and Ihshām. A fierce battle ensued, both sides fought with horse and foot. The Barlās chief struggled against an adverse fate. Neither his personal bravery nor the sword of his army, could save his kingly diadem. He was flogging a dead horse. Fate in the end deservingly handed over the palm for glory and success to the Arghun chief who returned back to Sibi, raised and fortified its fort and left for Kandahār[3]. After the capture of Sibi fort, Shāh Beg Arghun again went to Kandahār and from there sent Pesh-kash to Bābur Bādshāh then at Kābul, while he secretly managed to crawl into the favour of Shāh 'Ism'āil at Herāt. He was confined at Herāt in the fortress of Zaffar due to some misunderstanding but succeeded in effecting his escape. He reached Sibi, and soon despatched 1,000 horse, under Mirza 'Isā, the Tarkhān Moghul, into the territory of Sind. This was his first encroachment on Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn's (Nandā) dominion in Sind. In the end of the year 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.) this force entered Gāhān and Bāghbānā, villages in Jhālāwān district of Kalāt State. In 921 A.H. (1516 A.D.) Bābur Bādshāh appeared before Kandahār. In the meantime, disagreement arose between Shāh Beg and his son Mirza Shāh Hussain who joined Bābur and begged favour at his gracious hand. In the year 923 A.H. (1517 A.D.) Shāh Beg handed over the keys of Kandahār to Bābur. He came back to Sibi and, in the same year, made a raid upon Kot-i-Māchian and the outskirts of Chandukah, besides leading an expedition against Zehri. In 1517 A.D. Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn sought the way of all the earth and was succeeded by his son Jām Firoz, who screwing his head on the rightway maintained an army of three thousand Baluchis to maintain his person and prestige. On the 11th of Muharram, the first month of 926 A.H. (January, 1519 A.D.), bound with terrific rigor, Shāh Beg with the united strength of his warriors, the Baluchis, Nikodaris and Hazārās captured the historic city of Thathah. Jām Firoz surrendered himself to Shāh Beg. On the 2nd of Sh'abān, the eighth month of 928 A.H. (end of July, 1522 A.D.), Shāh Beg was overpowered by the great proprietor of all while on his way to invade Multān and Gujrāt. His corpse was interred at Bakhar but afterwards removed to Holy Mecca. Blochmann, quoting 'Maasir-ul-Umārā', mentions that Shāh Beg Khan shortly before his death, in 930 A.H. invaded Multān. The actual date of his death is 928 A.H. and as such he never invaded Multān. The author has mistaken the father for the son who invaded Multān in 931 A.H. Mirza Shāh Hussain before invading Multān, determined to settle the internal differences of his own men, the Arghuns, Nikodaris and Hazārās garrisoned in the fort of Sibi. Accordingly, Shāh Hussain moved with a body of 1,000 cavalry from Bakhar enroute Sibi. Pacifying the affairs of Sibi, he marched on his return via Chatar and Lahri, and made a raid

1. Even today signs of the Turkish settlements in the central Kalāt plateau can be identified by the names of certain towns which bear the name of towns in Bukhārā and Turkomanistan *i.e.* Karakh a town in Jhalāwan, and Marv in Sarāwān.

2. Koriāi is also a famous Baluch tribe.

3. 'Tārīkh-i-M'asūmi', pp. 104-105.

upon the Rind and Magasi Baluchis[1], who after a wavering fight held out the olive branch. Shāh Hussain took many of their chiefs and followers under his service to Bakhar. In 931 A.H. (1524 A.D.) after the complete subjugation of Sind and free from the infestation of internal enemies, Shāh Hussain cast his wistful eyes towards the discontented cities of the Langah territory, Multān and Gujrāt. At Uch, he confronted the might of an hostile army consisting of Baluchis and Langahs. Defeating the allied army in a mortal combat, he continued his advance towards Multān, the sovereignty of Shāh Mahmud Langah, whose fortune and dominion were sinewed by the strength of the Baluch warriors of Rind, Dodāi and Korāi tribes, besides, other tribal elements of confused lineage. Before the fall of Multān, Shāh Mahmūd was poisoned by his son-in-law-Sheikh Shuja[2]. In the outskirts of Multān, the adverse forces took the field with a demoniac frenzy. Both the parties engaged in a war to the knife. The loss of Shāh Mahmūd was a great set back to the Baluchis. They conducted the fight without a master. In the end "confusion reigned supreme", to quote the author of Tarkhān Nāmeh, "as the army which chiefly consisted of Baluchis being thus deprived of their head".

We do not hear the name of Chākar in this battle, but beyond doubt, the Baluch tribes mentioned above were under Chākar's thumb. In 950 A.H. (1543-44 A.D.), Shāh Hussain bestowed the Government of the Sibi district upon Sultan[3] Mahmūd Khan, son of Meer Fazil, the Kokal-Tash.

The Rind supremacy over Sibi lasted till 1511 A.D. The internal disputes and intrigues actuated by the Arghun aggression, put to exodus the cream of the Rind nobility towards the fertile plains of Punjāb. The date of their migration corresponds closely to the date when Emperor Bābur met Baluchis in Punjāb. After the reconquest of India by Humāyūn, we do not hear anything about Chākar save the mention of other contemporary Baluch Umerās. Chākar ascended the throne at the age of thirty according to the general conviction and ruled for a quarter of century from 1487 A.D. which gives a clew about his approximate birth date to be 1457 A.D. He fell victim to the greatest conquerer of all-King Death, a few years before Humāyūn's restoration in 1555 A.D. His death probably occurred between 1550-1555 A.D., nearly at the age of 96 years. A little before the conquest of Delhi by Emperor Humāyūn, we are told that Meer Shahdād son of Chākar made alliance with the Nahars, Langahs and the Kung tribes at Multān. This definitely illustrates that Chākar had entered the gates of death before this event.

During Chākar's rule, the seeds of animosity and misfortune developed among some independent Baluch Umerās. Leader of the rival camp was Gohrām, the chief of the Lāshārīs. This daring foe securely defied Chākar. According to Chākar, Gohrām had an army of 45,000, while his own force numbered 40,000 strong, armed to the nail. Both these avowed adventurers, intoxicated with power and fired by tribal fanaticism, used to fall into scramble for a period of twenty five years. It was for the arms to restore peace. Their fratricidal quarells plunged the whole race into

1. See 'Tārīkh-i-M'asūmi'.
2. See 'Tārkhān Nāmeh'.
3. Sultan was his name and not that he was a sovereign prince. His mother was an Afghan of the Kasi tribe of Shāl (Quetta).

a bath of blood and made the Baluch structure to collapse and sapped to its foundation. The fringe of the Rind society was lost in these internal wars. Meerhān, cousin and chief whip of Chākar, the renowned swordsman of his tribe, along with 700 creme de la creme of his followers, died in a hotly contested battle amidst thousands of their slaughtered enemy at Nalī near Gandāwā. The battle ground submerged in a veritable sea of blood. Nodhbandagh Lāshāri, surnamed gold scatterer, famed for wisdom and generosity, rescued Chākar by mounting him on his mare, 'Phul'. In this battle one thousand Nuhānees under their chief, 'Umar, came to the assistance of the Lāshāris. Before the fight, Bibrak seized Chākar's bridle and said, "Chākar sheathe thine sword. The Nuhānees number a thousand crack fighters, and the red-scabbarded Lāshārīs are mighty warriors. Let them attack us in our impregnable castle. To flee is an impossibility for thee, to go forward is death to thee". Some of the boasters tauntingly remarked, "The milk sucking infant—Bibrak, shivers from the horror of the Rind arrows, he fears from the glittering Indian swords and is afraid of the Egyptian steel. Fear not, ye Bibrak, when we unsheathe our swords against the enemy, we will post thee far off from the enemy arrows". Bibrak released his Chief's bridle and the fight flared up. Afterwards, Chakar left no quarter in wiping out Gohrām's men root and branch. It was on the death of venerable Meerhān that Chākar composed the following quatrain:

'The mountains of Sibi lie in slumber,
hearing the news of the death of sweet Meerhān,
Meerhān was the fruit of par-excellence,
in as much as that the fruit sellers of Kandahār
were eager to buy him'. (Translation).

The most famous warriors of Chākar's suit were Bibrak, Meerhān, Rehān, Bijār, Hasan Maulānagh, Jāro and 'Alī, all of whom added tone and repute to his age of benevolent despotism. Bibrak[1], his cousin, was the Coryphaeus of the Rind warriors of all times, and Hassan Maulānagh, the 'Le Beau Sabreur' of the Baluch race. The Almighty bestowed Bibrak with a soul to dominate, a mind to draught, a heart to determine, a face to draw, a body to dub, a hand to discharge and a tongue to decompose facts. He was a charming character destined by nature high above the common level. Chākar lost all his relations and his picked men in his battles against Gohrām. Amidst an overwhelming number of his adversaries combined with the Gohrāmite incubus, he abandoned Baluchistan to avoid further bloodshed and to push his fortune in new fields, he set out for Punjab and in utter disappointment, he versed the following verse:

'If I lose Rinds, Dodāi are my brothers,
If I abandon Sind, Hind will find me soon'. (Translation).

The Kachhi, Jacobābād and Nasīrābād regions, prior to the Rind supremacy, obeyed the Sindian masters as part of Sind, hence he mention Sind in his verse. The Dodāi are Baluchis and the two sister cities of the Derājāt, Derā Ghāzī Khan and Derā Ism'aīl Khan, owe their existance to the twin brothers of the Dodāi tribe.

1. Bibark is the corrupt form of the Arabian Name Abu Bakr or Abi Bakr.

Outliving his hard-won sovereignty, admired by the mortal adversaries, loved by his posterity and the people, Chākar disappears from Baluchistan's political stage like a phantasm. His departure from Baluchistan, sprinkled bulk of the Baluchis in Sind and Derājāt country. We see, frequent references, about the Baluch contingents crossing swords off and on with the then rulers of Sind and Multān. In the time of Sher Shāh Sūrī, the turbulent Baluchis acted like a loaded pistol on the heart of Multān. It necessiated Sher Shāh Sūrī to conquer these parts beyond Multān as a step to close the route to Kandahār via Siwi (Sibi) against Humāyūn by strengthening and guarding by numbers and discipline, Sukkur and Bhakar on the Indus to which he later on gave the name of 'Sher Garh' urf 'Sukkur-Bhakar'[1].

Contact with Delhi Rules.

Sohrāb Dodāī[2], a great vassal of Chākar, appeared at the court of Sultan[3] Hussain son of Sultan Qutub-ud-Dīn Langah at Multān. Who ruled from 1467-1502 A.D[4]. The author of 'Māāthir-e-Rahīmī' writes that Malik Sohrāb Dodāī came from Kech and Makurān to Sultan Hussain Langah's court at Multān at the time when Behlol Lodi (1451-1488 A.D.) sent his generals, Tātār Khan and Barbek Shāh to curb the irresistible prestige of Sultan Hussain. The later gave Sohrāb most cordial reception and bestowed on him as Jāgīr the territory in between fort Karur and fort Dhankot, over and above the Derājāt country. The dignity and favour conferred on Sohrāb, tempted several Baluch tribes to migrate to Multān, of whom many were given Jāgīrs by the Contemporary Multān ruler[5]. Ferishta while dealing with the administration and nobility of Multān Province mentions Sohrāb Dodāi, etc. The generous policy of Sultan Hussain swelled his ranks by the Baluchis and these mighty warriors, bound with a covenant of salt served him with all their might[6]. Chākar, with his son Shahdād, appeared in Multān during the reign of Sultan Mahmūd Langah son of Sultan Feroz Shāh son of Sultan Hussain. After a rule of one year, Shāh Feroz was succeeded in 1503 A.D. by Shāh Mahmūd who ruled Multān for twenty seven years. The author of 'Māāthīr-e-Rahimi' mentions that in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517 A.D.), fight ensued at Multān between Jām Bāyāzīd (a relative of Jām Nandā of Sind) and Shāh Mahmūd, whereas, Sikandar Lodi ordered Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Punjab, to mediate between the contending Parties. Consequently, Daulat Khan sealed peace between them. The same author further remarks that Meer Chākar Rind with his two sons,

1. See P.P. 84, 109, Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, by H. N. Wright.

2. The author of 'Sair-ul-Mutākhirīn', wrongly calls him Sohrab Dodāzai instead of Dodāī.

3. The father of Sultan Hussain was named Rā'e Sihrah, although styled 'Rā'e', was a Muslim. Some writers held that this Rā'e Sihrah ruled over Siwi and its dependencies. The Tuhfat-i-Akbar Shāhi addresses him as the Zamindar of Lahri, and the Zubdat-ul-Tawārikh call him Badan Khan, the Sindi (Jat), the Chief of the Langah tribe and Zamindar of Lahri.

4. The Langahs are a Rajput tribe who carved out a small state at Multan. Mr. Dow, in his version of Ferishta, turns the Langahs into 'Patans' though Farishta does not call them 'Patans' in his history. Tod connects them with Solanki Rajputs.

5. 'Sair-ul-Mutākhirīn', by Syed Ghulam Husain Taba Tabāi, p. 10.

6. The Baluchis seem to have wielded sceptre in every direction in the contemporary Multan, to an extent that later historians confused the Baluchis with Langah's. (See 'The Crescent in India' by Sharma, p. 154).

Meer Allah Dād and Meer Shāh Dād, came from Sibi to Multān just after the mediation of Daulat Khan at Multān which happened in 1512 A.D. Jām Bāyāzid after his quarrel with Jām Nandā of Sind, came to Multān where Shāh Hussain gave him an extensive Jāgīr at Shor. Jām Bāyazid, it is said, received Chākar en route to Multān and conferred a fairly large portion of his Jāgīr to the latter and his sons[1]. It is remarkable to note that Ferishta attributes to Meer Shāh Dād the introduction of 'Shia' creed in Multan[2].

Baluchis had been staunch to the backbone to the Langah rulers of Multān. In the pages of the Indian history, the inroads of the Baluchis closely corresponds with the fortunes of Multān and its neighbouring territories. The territories bordering Derājāt and Multān always served as a target upon which the Baluchis tested their arms. Till the last independent Moghul ruler, Multān dependencies were more often subverted by the defiant Baluchis than ever reconditioned by its contemporary sovereigns. After the death of Chākar, we find all the Baluchis of Multān Sūbah in open revolt against the later Moghul Emperors. On several occasions, they challenged the potency of Emperor Akbar, eventually, a Moghul army was sent to curb the power of the Derājāt Baluchis[3]. The Emperor on one occasion sent Ism'aīl Quli Khan brother of Khān Jahān with sinews of war, to humble down the territories of Baluchistan coterminus with Sind. Ism'aīl Quli Khan stood at bay with the Baluch chiefs, Ghāzī Khan and Ibrāhīm Khan, both of whom in the heat of the fray surrendered themselves and were repaired to the court and allowed to retain the country[4]. Emperor Shah Jahān was compelled to hand over the charge of the turbulent and dissatisfactory affairs of Multān and its dependencies[5] to Prince Aurangzeb. In 1106 A.H. Aurangzeb's calculating and expediential policy led him to send an expedition against the malcontent Baluchis[6].

The loyal support of the Baluchis supported the courage of the Langah rulers to provoke quarrel over and over with the Arghun rulers of Sind. Mr. Qanungo quotes from Kalich Beg's 'History of Sind' the following account:

"Two months after this (Humayun's departure for Qandahar) Baksho Langah collected people of the tribes of Langah, Baluch and Nahir[7] (Ahir) in a fort near Multān on the bank opposite Jaunpur, to march against the Fort of Bakhar as he

1. 'Maathir-e-Rahīmī' by 'Abdul Bāqī al-Nahwandi edited by Muhammad Hidāyat Hussain Vol. I, pp. 278, 279.

2. It is not surprising to note that the whole Rind ruling dynasty of that time belonged to Shi'a creed. Geographer Al-Muqaddasi in his famous book (Ahsān-al-Taqāsīm-al-Aqālīm, p. 469) describes the bulk of the Baluchis of the then Persia belonging to the Shi'a creed.

3. "The history of Aryan rule in India from the earliest times to the death of Akbar" by E. B. Havell p. 521.

4. Aīn-e-Akbārī, translated by Blochmann, p. 360.

5. "Ruqaat-e-'Alamgīr", Vol. I, PP. 7, 11, 29, edited by Syed Najīb Ashraf.

6. "Muntakhab-ul-Albāb", Vol. II, P. 444, by Muhammad Hāshim known as Khāfi Khān.

7. The Nahir or Ahir is a Baluch tribe, mainly found in Derajāt, Bārkhān and Persian Baluchistan.

was informed that Shah Hussain had gone to Tatta and all his Governors and Chiefs had assembled there under him. With that object in view he put his troops in fifty boats and sent them ahead to fall suddenly on the island at night. The assailants were at length repulsed and driven back to their boats. The next day about noon Baksho Langah came on beating drums hoping to see the fort already in possession of his men. But as soon as he approached, guns and muskets were fired at him from ramparts of the fort, he was obliged to go to Lohri where he spent about three days and then went back to Multan, after plundering some of the villages in the country".

When Humāyūn was driven by Sher Shāh Sūri, the three sons of Sohrāb Dodāī, Ism'aīl Khan, Ghāzi Khan and Fateh Khan met the latter at Khushāb and the Emperor confirmed their Jāgīrs on the Indus Delta and left all the Baluchis of Cis-Indus undisturbed[1]. Under Akbar, the Moghul Emperor, Dodāi, a town, named after Sohrāb, furnished with a brick fort, was included among the Mahalls of the district called "Berun-i-Panjnad", belonging to the Sūbah of Multān. It was then peopled by Dodāī Baluchis who it is said furnished a militia of nearly 4,000 horses and 30,000 foot.

No evidence is available, hitherto, concerning the common Baluch traditional claim speaking of Chākar's assistance rendered to Humāyūn in the restoration of his Indian Empire. MacGregor writes that, "Mir Cahkar went with Hamayun Shah to Delhi about 957 Hijri, or 1542 A.D." This is significantly wrong, for Humāyūn recovered the throne in 1555 A.D. and not 1542 A.D. Chākar and his Peers were repugnant to the Sūrī regime and Chākar's bold sympathies were always reserved for Humāyūn, as we see, the help given to the vanquished emperor by the Baluch chiefs then under the nominal sway of Chākar. We find that Chākar established at Sat-garha in Sher Shāh's time and the Baluchis are mentioned in possession of the entire Multān country[2].

It is stated that near Montgomery a place known as Satgarha which stood at the confluence of seven minor rivers, emperor Humāyūn, short of food, sought the help of Baksho Baluch (one of the Umerās of Chākar) who brought one hundred boats full of corn as a token of respect to the emperor who distributed it amongst his army and crossed the river on these boats. Princess Gul Badan Begum, sister of Humāyūn, confirms, that emperor was much pleased by this timely help and writes that "May Allah confer His Grace upon Bakhsho who served the emperor at a proper time[3]".

Later on, it appears, that Humāyūn after the conquest of Kābul from his brother Kāmrān, bestowed the Province of Shāl and Mastung to Lawang Khan Baluch, one of the noblemen of Chākar's realm[4].

1. 'Moghul Empire in India' by S. R. Sharma, M.A., P. 149.
2. "Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi" by 'Abbās Khan.
3. 'Humāyūn Nāmeh', by Gulbadan Begum translated in Urdu by Prof. Syed Ibn Hassan, p. 56.
4. Erskine's Baber and Humāyūn, II, p. 327.

Emperor Sher Shāh was forced to subdue the contumacy of the Baluchis who carried merciless depredations over the territory between Lahore and Delhi. Fateh Khan Baluch conquered the kingdom of Multān during the confusion that followed the flight of Humāyūn. Anarchy played its part so recklessly that it forced Sher Shāh to despatch immediate orders to Haibat Khan Niāzi, the governor of Punjab, to root out these scourges from Punjab. Haibat Khan at the head of an army appeared on the field near Multān where Fateh Khan Dodāī Baluch was defeated after a terrific struggle. The Shāh accordingly conferred on Haibat Khan the title of 'Azim Humāyūn[1]. Another historian states that Meer Chākar in alliance with Fateh Khan fought against Emperor Sher Shah[2]. A little later, Bakhso Langah captured another Baluch leader, Hinda, and handed over to Haibat Khan. The Sūri Emperor rejoiced beyond a common joy at the capture of this inexorable leader and raised Haibat Khan to the honour of 'Masnad Ali', besides bestowing upon him Red tent. He ordered the Governor to put Fateh Khan and Hinda Baluch to death and accordingly at Lahore they were gibbeted[3]. After the execution of these thoroughpaced-robber chieftains whom no faith could fix, Punjab remained thoroughly pacified and such a control was established over it as was never known before.

Baluchis conquer Multān

Chākar followed his route to India through Marri-Bugti country towards modern Māzarī village, Rojhān, thence to Derā Ghāzi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multān and to Montgomery wherein the fertile fields of Satgarh, the Baluch hero lieth in a place without wordly glory; his grave a symbol of simplicity, his deeds still afresh in the memories of his countrymen, their souls afflict with inevitable circumstances which carried away their devoted hero to a stranger land, only to die in harness amidst an alien people, who hitherto, ignorant of this gallant monarch could not erect a masoleum best suited to his person and prestige. His wanderings through out these countries scattered the Baluchis over an area of two lakhs of square miles from the summit of Taftān to the heart of the Punjab. Bampur in Persia upto the border of Derājāt country loosely marked the apogee of Chākar's territorial expansion and beyond that his expeditions amount to a promenade. Chākar's life episodes—love and adventures are a kaleidoscope of memorable events. His enterprizes within Baluchistan proper added foils to his military career. The Baluchis arm in arm migrated stage by stage, country by country under the arm of Chākar. No account can vie with a description concerning the general exodus of the Baluch race towards Punjāb in the time of Chākar as shown by the traditional ballads of the Rind, translated as such by Dames:—

Expansion of the Baluch race under Chākar

'The noble Rinds were in Bampur, in groves of Kech and Makuran, with the Dombkis, the greatest house among the dwellings of the Baluchs. The Rinds and the Lasharis made a bond together and said; 'Come let us leave this barren land; let us

1. See Tabakāti Akbari and Tārīkh-i-Nizām.
2. See Tārīkh Sher Shāhī.
3. Elliot, p.399.

spy out the running streams and sweet waters, and distribute them amongst us; let us take no heed of tribe or chief.'

'They came to their houses, the chiefs called to their sales,

'Loose the slender chestnut mares from their stalls, saddle the young fillies—steed worth 9,000—Drive in the camels from the passes.'

The warriors called to their wives: "Come ye down from your castles, pillows and stripped rugs, cups cast in mould, and drinking vessels of Makuran ; for Chākar will no longer abide here, but seeks a far land'."

'So the generous Rinds rode forth in their overcoats and long red boots with helmets and arm pieces, bows and quivers, silver knives and daggers—forty thousands of them rode at the Mir's call'.

The most perilous move of Chākar's policy was the classification of the race into separate tribes—a policy which became the chief cause of his failure and mainspring of all present misfortunes. The tribal shell constructed by him maintains its dicta, heretofore, like granite stone and nothing succeeded in breaking through its solidarity. It has since then augured ill for the future harmony of the race.

Katabolism of the race

The lack of any fixed rule of heredity and accession after Chākar's departure caused a great national disturbance in the country. The kingdom which he built in Baluchistan was divided piecemeal between the rival Baluch claimants within and alien hordes who fell upon it from without. The wide dominion carved out by him was not held by his Chiefs for more than one year. His glory even could not rest for a while when katabolism crept into the body politic of the race. The country was harassed by internecine quarrels and horrible tumults at intermittent periods. It was a time when peace, order and security could be maintained only by the repression of the chiefs and the strengthening of monarchy. Jealousy and intrigues took a tenacious hold on the minds of the nobles. As a consequence, they were overshadowed in political significance by other alien dynasties. The central Baluchistan submerged into a hodgepodge of tribal principalities and feudal survivals. The glory of Rinds passed away and its hegemony terminated. Long meditated revolts broke out among the Baluch tribes of Kachhi, Sibi and those of the Kalāt highlands. Political disagreements coupled with internal imbroglios undermined the central Baluch integrity giving birth to fortuitous conglomeration of small independent principalities having their own defective and degraded laws within limited jurisdications, each of which was always at daggers drawn against each other—more often in rebellion than in peace. The kingdom of the Rind in Baluchistan gradually developed into a kingdom of the conquered.

India's fate always yielded to the dictates and arbitration of alien races streaming from central Asia. Each one of them came as conquerors but in due course of time remained as conquered by the successful storms of dynasty after dynasty.

The Baluchis would have planted their banner of greatness in the heart of fertile India and would have secured the canopy of Kingship during the middle of the 16th century, at the eve of the general exodus of the race towards India, but for a few reasons they failed—failed miserably. Things would have been quite different, had their traditional tenacity and valour been supported by a national enterprise through

the sentiments of a national unity. The race and its leaders had, in fact, no programme before them. Military genius and leadership the race possessed by blood and birth. But they were hopelessly destitute of administrative capacity and statesmanship. It can be safely asserted that "they had no central organization, but each tribe was under its own chief; although temporary combination under the chief of the Rinds or of the Lasharis were occasionally formed, if we can judge from the early ballads. This loose organization prevented the establishment of any permanent kingdom. Each tribe fought for itself, and they often against each other. Their invasion of India therefore, although it has profoundly affected the population of Indus valley, has been almost unnoticed in history, while invasions like those of Cingiz Khan, Timur and Nadir Shah, which have left no trace on the population, fill a conspicuous place in the historical drama[1]". The alien races that ruled India for centuries, were in no way superior to the Baluchis in battle and single combat. But intense tribal jealousies never favoured the latter to shine, if ever determined. Their sword was often used among themselves rather than against a common foe. Their condition was more pitiable than their contemporary neighbours whose fortune, if ever, they wanted to subvert. Disintegration of the Lodi rule placed the disordered stage of the Indian Empire under few thousand Uzbeks marshaled by Bābur who extinguished the last hope of Pathan domination in India, and whose short lived career in India, flashed like a tremendous meteor leaving a remarkable future for his successor in the course of history full of storms. The military qualities of Chākar were in no way less then those of Bābur and the former's men were equally trained warriors of the highest order as compared to the Uzbeks. The misfortune had been always that no sooner Chākar or any other comtemporary Baluch Ameer strove to find new field of glory beyond their country, than envious fate divided them into various hostile camps. Notwithstanding all, things would have been still favourable for a general like Chākar to carve out a kingdom for him beyond his native land, but for the fact that contemporary India was ruled by extraordinary strong dynasties which since long were accustomed to the art of Kingship and intoxicated by the odium of luxuries of courts and palaces. Sind in the middle of the 16th century was a compact state ruled by the flower of Arghun chivalry and the rest of India bowed their heads before the mighty descendents of the Tartar conqueror —Timur. As a consequence, Baluch race in the 16th century was hard pressed between various powerful neighbours who never allowed her pearl of fortune to gleam outside from the shell of darkness. Fortune, therefore, never smiled at their immature plans either in the Punjāb or Sind as the ally of some adverse powers striving for their own prestige and existence. The Baluch destiny was never destined to plant its triumphant banner on the proud ramparts of the Imperial cities of India. As such, the Baluch sword and pen failed in those spacious times.

Cultural enhancement

Space must be found for the literary side of the Chākarian era. This period has produced the finest poetry in Baluchi language. Chākar, himself a poet of fame and patron of learning, extemporised elegant ditties. The only history recorded of his time and

1. "The Encyclopaedia of Islam", edited by Houtsma, etc., Vol. I, p. 636 (printed by E. J. Brill, Leydan, 1913).

that of the Rind is conveyed to us through the contemporary poems of the day. Bibrak indited fine Baluchi epical poems depicting wonderfully his multifarious episodes of love and war which are, hereunto, remembered by every Baluch of blood and breeding. Shāh Mureed, the Kaheri, the Orlando Furioso of the Baluch race, in the heat of his love with Hāno composed nearly fifty lyrical poems, each consisting hundred of verses. Even today his verses provide a sound theme for the local minstrels. Crime and candour, cowardice and courage of the day were only depicted and known by the poems of that era, which have been handed down to us from time to time and tribe to tribe. The poetry of his time had a great effect upon the morals of the people which automatically stimulated and insinewed the common mass to be capable of endurance and of exhibiting courage in the presence of any danger. The poets were always watching anxiously the time fit for their versification. Their voice was the voice of the people. Their decision was the decision of the proletaries. The profession of the poets was honoured, respected and rewarded lavishly. Rare poetry of other nations, better fulfill or depict the aspect of nomadic life, its best and worst side, as thoroughly as that of the Baluchis. The main theme of their poetry aimed at a panegric, a satire, the description of some war, or the chase or revelry. Verses of such description, immense in number—flew from lip to lip, praised by high or low, young or old. Before warriors the master passion was to take revenge by sword and the task reserved for the poets was the exchange of vitriolic satires between antagonist tribes. The poets exactly performed the same function as the party press performs today. Poets were both honoured or degraded according to their caustic exposure to reprobation.

Characteristics of the Rinds of Chākar's time

Bravery and generosity constituted the hallmark of their social code. Their friendship was old and tried; fast comrades in foray like hounds trained to the chase. In the midst of battle, the noted warriors would spring like rams amid herds of sheep[1]. The strict observance of a promise was deemed as the soul of their social code. An interesting episode of Chākar's time gives a vivid picture of the true character of the people amongst whom Chākar held his sway. Once in his Darbār, Chākar asked Jāro, the Puzh Rind, a born aristocrat-bred radical, to make a certain vow asseverating it to the last. Accordingly he avowed: "He who toucheth my beard, him shall I gash and gore to death". One day, intentionally Chākar brought Jāro's milk-sucking babe and placed the child upon his father's lap; the child involuntarily grasped his father's beard. The brute power of nature soon brought Jāro at his elements. In towering passion, he unsheathed his scimitar and smote his child's head off. Witnessing the awful scene, in an amazing surprise, Chākar addressed his Chiefs: "To a Rind his promise should be dearer than the dearest possession; for in the vein of other races there runs water only, but in the veins of a Rind run faith and fire."

1. Cf. Firdausi— سپاهی ز گردان کوچ و بلوچ
سگالیده جنگ مانند غوچ

He was a fierce Lord, bred to arms and well bred. Dangerous delights have dangerous ends. His immense love for fight ultimately ended his own life, while intervening two combating wild bulls. We are told, that Chākar's person was not so attractive as was his character. He was tall but lean and sturdy, possessed two piercing eyes. His fierce shining eyes and choleric complexion well agreed with his ultra violent nature. Within the four walls of Baluchistan, the fame and valour of this Baluch Attila, as a general, can indisputably be compared to the Corsican ogre of the 19th century. He was called the "mighty Chakar Rind[1]", that "God-like man" because he possessed might and righteousness.

Character and personality of Chākar

In his Darbār everything looked serene, Carthusian silence prevailed upon all. Even his equals looked paralysed before his self-sufficient ostentation and overweaning pride. The audience seemed as if they were puppets controlled by a wire-puller. Every eye was hypnotized by his penetrating glances; every head bowed before him, every word of his was weighed and the general monotony that prevailed over all, presented an atmosphere of freezing audience. The whole Rind kingdom depended on his nod. The sooner he commanded than done. He was one of those incomparable leaders in war who from time immemorial, have appeared on the stage of Baluchistan, to refresh and refashion its destinies. No ruler in Baluchistan before or after him, ever succeeded in attaining the same mark of excellence and magnanimity which Chākar monumented for him. His glory yet remains unchallenged and unharmed. Being without a predecessor equal to him, he remained also without a successor to follow his footsteps. A superb man with innumerable charm, was the first and the last star which shone on the horizon of the Baluch national life. Dual code found a proper place in his mind and heart, at one moment his words breathed humanity, kindness and justice; next moment he reached the highest pinnacles of hate and savagery. His conduct in general was celebrated as sedate and stoical—a man without a tear. Chākar unchallengingly stands among the civilizing Asiatic fortune-seekers such as have come into close contact with the sublime forces of fate. Baluchistan suffers today in the computation of the historians, more through their ignorance of the accomplishments of the Baluch heroes than through the lack of such events engendered by the latter. The gigmanity of Chākar could be judged from the fact that four and a half centuries have passed since his death, yet the memory of his tales, wars, expeditions, are quite fresh in the memory of every Baluch, hitherto. Equally gifted in mind and body, he was as majestic in court as in the battle-field. His regular marches through the snowy peaks of the Sarāwānian hills and also through the torrid plains of Kachhi, mark his youthful fortitude and stern determination. He possessed an indomitable will which had its roots in an abnormally firm and fixed vitality. The by-past Baluchi songs of the day attest his brave deeds. In the battle, his enemies felt how formidable he was; at the same time his friends recalled to mind how generous, kind and faithful, he was to them. No ruler of the world holds such a posthumous respect, esteem and admiration from his countrymen as this Baluch Ameer. His time is taken as the golden period of the

1. "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan", by H. G. Raverty, p. 561.

race. His fame even today acts as a veritable incarnation of bravery and genius for the future generation of the country. The golden thread which Chākar wove into the web of the Baluch history remains for ever a pleasant monument of the finest attainment. Baluchi ballads and traditions teem with the praises, that this Rind swordsman was their greatest ruler. Chākar when dead became more popular and his name a symbol of respect than Chākar while living and seated on the throne of Baluchistan. Through Cosmic ranges of time, Chākar's glory is slowly falling to obscurity. All that is left, out of the disjecta membra of his various achievements and attainments are the mud fort at Sibi and his tomb at Satgarh[1]. No vestige of past magnificence remains except the Sibi fort which lies in the wilderness of a ruined city shorn of its grace and splendour. Yet, it has left behind a veritable lesson book whose chapters are its gates and the brick and stone its pages—a grandiose relic of human pageantry ready to give an everlasting verisimilitude to a narrative, alike both to the mighty and to the meek.

1. The author ever cherishes in his heart, the glory, grandeur and misfortunes of Chākar. It has been and is still the burning passion of the author to bring the august ashes of this mighty Baluch to his motherland after a lapse of four centuries and his august sepulchre should be in a silent and sacred spot and be visited with profound reverence and solemn wonder by those who respect history. The author first made this proposal in 1938 and nobly expressed for the collection of 'Chākar's memorial fund'. The response from the various people was cordial. Owing to unavoidable circumstances, the author could not accomplish it but now again plans to draw the attention of the race towards their national hero.

CHAPTER III

SUPREMACY OF THE FOREIGN DYNASTIES OVER BALUCHISTAN

The geo-political situation of Baluchistan gave her a key position[1]. Though it had been the central point—the meeting place of the three great ancient seats of civilization, namely, Persia, Bactria and India, yet little is known about the pre-historic Baluchistan. It is a country where past is ever alive. The various conquerors who have conquered the land—have but little changed her past social out-look. Her checkered history can be compared to a serial drama staged after long intervals but without any set dialogue or epilogue. The heroes of the drama were sadly ousted by the tides of time without being allowed to play the final role. The drama is, indeed, rich in suspense and climaxes. For years, the curtain of darkness conceals the fate of Baluchistan, the darkness lifts intermittently, and we see a divided Baluchistan under different nationalities succeeding successively. In the Avesta, we find the mention of the country now called Baluchistan as Vara Pishīn-Anha or the Pishin valley. It is the mention of Makurān which occurs chiefly in ancient chronicles. The fate of the rest of Baluchistan appears to have been almost identical with that of Makurān. We find those territories of Baluchistan coterminus with Persia, always under the Persian sovereigns and those neighbouring India and Afghanistan, under the regime of the former dynasties respectively. The supremacy of the various dynasties over the country depicts more of an aggrandizable character than of a permanent settlement. Culturally, the country stood in the backwaters as it is today. The supremacy of the various dynasties swept over the country as a heinous flood and passed with the same swiftness as a storm, leaving behind nothing but destruction and dismay. Might was the law of the day and incessant rebellions its offspring. To the invaders of the north-west, it was the open'Seasame of India'. The history of the various dynasties, which had been once rulers of Baluchistan, is mainly the history of invaders of India or of those adventurers who were ousted from their native land and consequently they occupied territories of Baluchistan whose fortunes, therefore, had always been linked with its neighbours.

The Achaemenian dynasty

Makurān, according to Shāhnāmeh of Firdausi, owed fealty to Kai-Kāūs, Kai-Khusro, Lehrāsp, Gushtāsp, Humā and Dārāb.

Makurān acted as the gateway through which foreign dynasties found their exit from west into eastern Baluchistan or India. It has also been the battle ground between

1. For the political and strategical importance of Baluchistan, the readers are referred to read the two standard works: "Problems of Greater Britain", by Sir Charles Dilke, Vol. II; "British Dominion in India", by Sir A. Lyall, Chaps. XVII to XIX.

the Persian and Turanian Kings. The latter under Afrāsiyāb also won by arms a short lived supremacy over Makurān but soon collapsed before the iron onset of the contemporary Persian king. It also formed a part of the Empire of Cyrus[1] (558-530 B.C.), the Achaemenian, the son of Cambyses. As stated, hereafter, Alexander in order to rival both Cyrus and Semiramis who had attempted unsuccessfully to traverse Makurān, ventured to march by this route and broke their records. Arrian's reference to the tomb of Cyrus and the visit of Alexander thereto in 324 B.C. mentions that on the tomb was inscribed with Persian character: 'O man I am Cyrus the son of Cambyses, who founded the Empire of Persia, and was King of Asia. Grudge me not therefore this monument.'

Under the earliest Achaemenian rulers the whole of the western Baluchistan formed partially a part of the old Sacae (Seistān) and of Carmania (Kirmān) while its northern part formed, partly, the part of the Kandāhār province, the then Gandārah of the Achaemenians, and partly that of Arachosia. At different epochs of ancient history, territories of varying boundaries were called Sacae or Carmania, according as the dominion of their Persian Sovereigns was extended or curtailed. Under Darius (521-485 B.C.), Makurān formed a seperate country of his empire, designated as Mecia or Mekia. Over the head of the sculpture of Darius, it was found written: "I am Darius the King, the King of Kings, the King of Persia, the great king of the provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenian. Says Darius the king: My father was Hystaspes; of Hystaspes, the father was Arsames; of Arsames the father was Ariyaramnes; of Ariyaramnes, the father was Teispes; of Teispes, the father was Achaemenes. Says Darius the King: On that account we are called Achaemenians. From antiquity we have descended; from antiquity those of our race have been Kings. Says Darius the King: There are eight of my race who have been kings before me; I am the ninth. For a very long time (or in a double line) we have been kings. Ormuzd has granted to me the Empire. Says Darius the King: These are the countries which belong to me; by the grace of Ormuzd I have become the King of them; Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt; those which are of the sea, (i.e. the islands of the Mediterranean), Sparta and Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana,

1. According to Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Kathīr, Cyrus is the Zul-Qarnain (Bicorn) of the Holy Qurān. Abul Kalām Azād (in his commentry of the Holy Qurān, Vol. II) conforms to the above view. Al-Rāzī much influenced and impressed by the Greek philosophy, identifies Alexander 'the great' as the Zul-Qarnain. Abu Rehān al-Berunī in his Kitāb al-Athār-Wāl-Baqīyah 'an-al-Khālīyah' holds as Zul-Qarnain, Abu Karb bin 'Aibar bin Afriqas of the Hammerī dynasty. Sir Sayyad Ahmad's research proved the Chinese Emperor, Chi Wang Ti (247 B.C.) who built the Great China Wall, about which it is fabled that 'every stone cost a human life', as the Zul-Qarnain. But so far strong proofs are in favour of Cyrus as in 1838 A.D. at Istakhar, a statue made of stone was excavated, having two horns and two wings like that of an eagle, and it was identified to be the statue of Cyrus whose crown as proved historically bore two golden horns, and, besides all, he possed to a great extent both the qualities of a King and a Prophet, and Zul-Qarnain was a prophet and a King according to the Qurānic version.

Gondara, the Sacae, the Sattagydes, Arachotia[1], and Mecia; in all twenty three countries[2]." The names of certain places and under ground water springs known as 'Karez' in Baluchistan, hereunto, preserved their ancient Persian names. The Mungchehr village and valley in the Kalāt Niābat clearly denotes to have been named after the Persian sovereign Minuchehr. It can be assumed that Baluchistan might have been among the 127 provinces over which the successor of Darius, Xerxes (485-465 B.C.), the Great Ahasuerus of the Bible, as described, in the sacred writing, swayed sceptre, 'from India even unto Euthopia'.

Alexander's march

The Emathian conqueror's march through the country is the only authentic event in the annals of ancient Baluchistan. The multifarious hardships which his army met in the country are very interesting as depicted by Arrian, the contemporary historian of Alexander's time:—

'He (Alexander[3]) then took again the half of the Hypaspists and Agrianians, and the corps of cavalry and the horse-archers, and marched forward to the frontiers of the Gadrosoi and the Oreitai, where he was informed the way would lie through a narrow defile, before which the combined forces of the Oreitai and the Gadrosoi were lying encamped, resolved to prevent his passage. They were in fact drawn up there, but when they were apprised of Alexander's approach, most of them deserted the posts they were guarding, and fled from the pass. Then the leaders of the Oreitai came to him to surrender themselves and their nation. He ordered them to collect the multitude of the Oreitai, and send them away to their homes, since they were not to be subjected to any bad treatment. Over these people he placed Apollophanes as satrap. Along with him he left Leonnatos, an officer of the bodyguard, in Ora[4], in command of all the Agrians, some of the archers and cavalry, and the rest of the Grecian mercenary infantry and cavalry, and instructed him to remain in the country till the fleet sailed past its shores, to settle a colony in the city, and establish order among the Oreitai, so that they might be readier to pay respect and obedience to the satrap. He himself with the great bulk of the army (for Hephaistion had now rejoined him with his detachment), advanced to the country of the Gadrosoi by a route mostly desert.

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'Thence he marched through the country of the Gadrosoi, by a difficult route, on which it was scarcely possible to procure the necessaries of life, and which often failed to yield water for the army. They were, besides, compelled to march most of the way by night, and at too great a distance from the sea; for Alexander wished to go along the sea-coast, both to see what harbours it had, and to make, in the course of

1. The ancient Arochosia, comprehended the present provinces N.E. of Baluchistan, Cutch Gandawa, Kandahar, Swistan and the S.W. of Kabul (Dict. Geog. Smith).
2. 'Persia and the Persian Question', by Hon. George N. Curzon, Vol. I, pp. 564, 565.
3. 'Arrian's Anabasis', book VI, chapter XXII, quoted in McCrindle's Ancient India. Its invasion by Alexander the Great, p. 169.
4. McCrindle's Ancient India contains several very interesting notes on the identification of plates mentioned by Arrian.

his march, whatever preparations were possible for the benefit of the fleet, either by making his men dig wells, or to seek out markets and anchorages. The maritime part of Gadrosia were, however, entirely desert. Nevertheless, he sent Thaos, the son of Mandradoros, down to the sea with a few horsemen, to see if there happened to be any anchorage or water not far from the sea, or anything else that could supply the wants of the fleet. This man, on returning, reported that he found some fishermen upon the beach living in stifling huts, which had been constructed by heaping up mussel shells, while the roofs were formed of the backbones of fish. He also reported that these fishermen had only scanty supplies of water, obtained with difficulty by their digging through the shingle, and that what they got was far from sweet[1].

'When Alexander came to a district of the Gedrosian country where corn was more abundant, he seized it, placed it upon the beasts of burden, and having marked it with his own seal, ordered it to be conveyed to the sea. But when he was coming to the halting station nearest the sea, the soldiers paid but little regard to the seal, and even the guards themselves made use of the corn and gave a share of it to such as were most pinched with hunger. Indeed, they were so overcome by their sufferings that, as reason dictated, they took more account of the impending danger with which they now stood face to face, than of the unseen and remote danger of the king's resentment. Alexander, however, forgave the offenders, when made aware of the necessity which had prompted their act. He himself scoured the country in search of provisions, and sent Kretheus, the Kallatian, with all the supplies he could collect for the use of the army which was sailing round with the fleet. He also ordered the natives to grind all the corn they could collect in the interior districts, and convey it, for sale to the army, along with dates and sheep. He, besides, sent Telephos, one of the companions, to another locality with a small supply of ground corn.

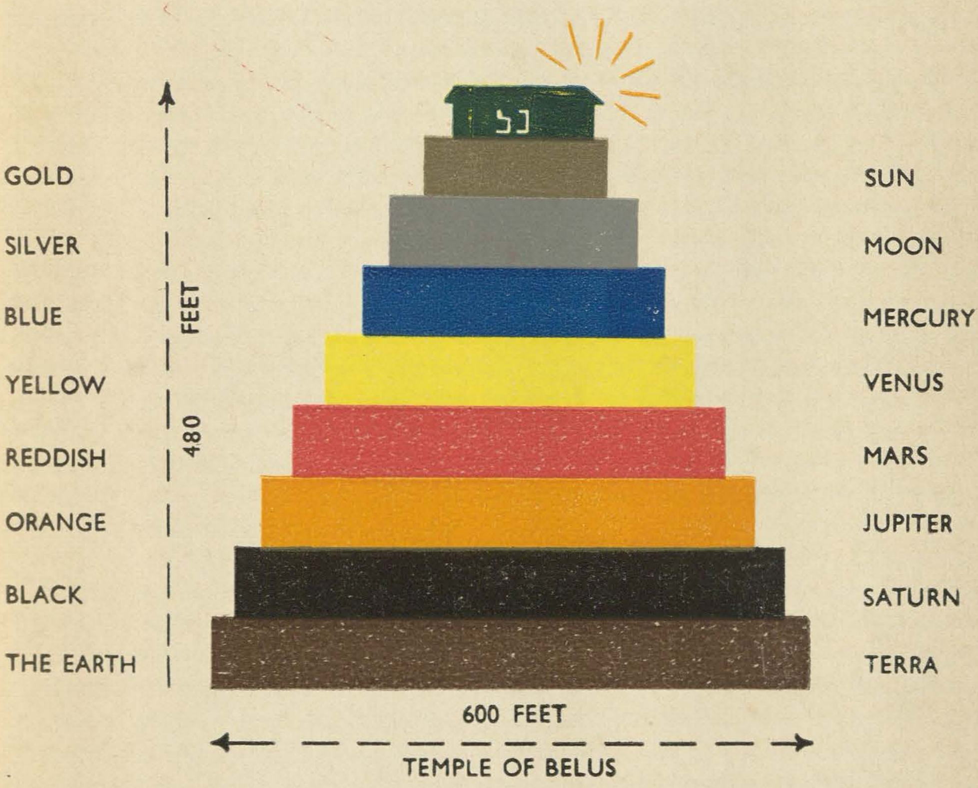
'He then advanced towards the capital of Gadrosoi, called Poura, and arrived there in sixty days after he had started from Ora. Most of Alexander's historians admit that all the hardships which his army suffered in Asia are not to be compared with the miseries which it here experienced. Nearchos is the only author who says that Alexander did not take that route in ignorance of its difficulty, but he chose it on learning that no one had as yet traversed it with an army except Semiramis, when she fled from India. The natives of the country say that she escaped with only twenty men of all her army, while even Cyrus, the son of Kambyses, escaped with only seven. For Cyrus, they say, did in truth enter this region to invade India, but lost, before reaching it, the greater part of his army from difficulties which beset his march through the desert. When Alexander heard these accounts, he was seized, it is said, with an ambition to outrival both Cyrus and Semiramis. Nearchos says that this motive, added to his desire to be near the coast in order to keep the fleet supplied with provisions, induced him to march by this route; 'but that the blazing heat and want of water destroyed a great part of the army, and especially the beasts of burden, which perished from the great depth of the sand, and the heat which scorched like fire, while a great many died of thirst. For they met, he says, with lofty ridges of deep sand not hard and compact, but so loose that those who stepped on it sank down as into mud

1. Water on the coast is still obtained in the same way.

or rather into untrodden snow. The horses and mules, besides, suffered still more severely both in ascending and descending the ridges, because the road was not only uneven but wanted firmness. The great distances also between the stages were most distressing to the army, compelled as it was at times from want of water to make marches above the ordinary length. When they traversed by night all the stage they had to complete and came to water in the morning, their distress was all but entirely relieved. But, if, as the day advanced, they were caught still marching owing to the great length of the stage, then suffer they did, tortured alike by raging heat and thirst unquenchable.

'The soldiers destroyed many of the beasts of burden of their own accord. For, when their provisions ran short, they came together and killed most of the horses and mules. They ate the flesh of these animals, which they professed had died of thirst and perished from the heat. No one cared to look very narrowly into the exact nature of what was being done, both because of the prevailing distress and also because all were alike implicated in the same offence. Alexander himself was not unaware of what was going on, but he saw that the remedy for the existing state of things was to pretend ignorance of it, rather than permit it as a matter that lay within his cognisance. It was therefore no longer easy to convey the soldiers labouring under sickness nor others who had fallen behind on the march from exhaustion. This arose not only from the want of beasts of burden but also because the men themselves took to destroying the wagons, when they could no longer drag them forward owing to the deepness of the sand. They had done this even in the early stages of the march, because for the sake of the wagons they had to go not by the shortest roads but those easiest for carriages. Thus some were left behind on the road from sickness, others from fatigue of the effects of the heat or intolerable thirst, while there were none who could take them forward or remain to attend them in their sickness. For the army marched on apace, and in the anxiety for its safety as a whole, the care of individuals was of necessity disregarded. As they generally made their marches by night, some of the men were overcome by sleep on the way, but on awaking afterwards, those who still had some strength left, followed close on the tracks of the army and a few out of many saved their lives by overtaking it. The majority perished in the sand like the shipwrecked men at sea.

'Another disaster also befell the army which seriously affected the men themselves as well as the horses and the beasts of burden. For the country of the Gadrosians, like that of the Indians, is supplied with rains by the Etesian winds ; but these rains do not fall on the Gadrosian plains, but on the mountains to which the clouds are carried by the wind, where they dissolve in rain without passing over the crests of the mountains. When the army on one occasion lay encamped for the night near a small winter torrent for the sake of its water, the torrent, which passes that way, about the second watch of the night became swollen by rains, which had fallen unperceived by the army, and came rushing down with so great a deluge that it destroyed most of the women and the children of the camp followers, and swept away all the royal baggage and whatever beasts of burden were still left. The soldiers themselves, after a hard struggle, barely escaped with their lives, and a portion only of their weapons. Many of them besides came by


GOLD
SILVER
BLUE
YELLOW
REDDISH
ORANGE
BLACK
THE EARTH
480 FEET
SUN
MOON
MERCURY
VENUS
MARS
JUPITER
SATURN
TERRA
600 FEET
TEMPLE OF BELUS

their death through drinking, for, if, when jaded by the broiling heat and thirst, they fell in with abundance of water, they quaffed it with insatiable avidity till they killed themselves. For this reason Alexander generally pitched his camp not in the immediate vicinity of the watering-places, but some twenty stadia off, to prevent the men and beasts from rushing in crowds into the water to the danger of their lives as well as to prohibit those who had no self-control from polluting the water for the rest of the troops by their stepping into the springs or streams.

'Here I feel myself bound not to pass over in silence a noble act performed by Alexander, perhaps the noblest in his record, which occurred either in this country or, as some other authors have asserted, still earlier, amongst the Parapamisadai. The story is this. The army was prosecuting its march through the sand under a sun already blazing high, because a halt could not be made till water, which lay on the way further on, was reached, and Alexander himself, though distressed with thirst, was, nevertheless, with pain and difficulty marching on foot at the head of his army, that the soldiers might, as they usually do in a case of the kind, more cheerfully bear their hardships when they saw the misery equalised. But, in the meantime, some of the light armed soldiers, starting off from the army, found water collected in the shallow bed of a torrent in a small and impure spring. Having with difficulty collected this water, they hastened off to Alexander as if they were the bearers of some great boon. As soon as they came near the king, they poured the water in a helmet, and offered it to him. He took it and thanked the man who brought it, but at once poured it on the ground in the sight of all. By this deed the whole army was inspired with fresh vigour to such a degree, that one would have imagined that the water poured by Alexander had supplied a draught to the men all round. This indeed I commend above all others, as it exhibits Alexander's power of endurance as well as his wonderful tact in the management of an army.

'The army met also with the following adventure in this country. The guides, becoming uncertain of the way, at last declared that they could no longer recognise it, because all its tracks had been obliterated by the sands which the wind blew over them. Amid the deep sands, moreover, which had been everywhere heaped up to a uniform level, nothing rose up from which they could conjecture their path, not even the usual, fringe of trees, nor so much as the sure landmark of a hill crest. Nor had they practised the art of finding their way by observation of the stars by night or of the sun by day as the sailors do by watching one or the other, of the Bears—the Phoenicians, the Lesser Bear, and all other nations, the Greater. Alexander, at last perceiving that he should direct his march to the left, rode away forward, taking a small party of horsemen with him. But when their horses were tired out by the heat, he left most of his escort behind, and rode on with only five men and found the sea. Having scraped away the shingle on the beach, he found water, both fresh and pure, and then went back and brought his whole army to this place. And for seven days he marched along the sea-coast, and procured water from the beach. As the guides by this time knew the way, he led his expedition thence into the interior parts'.

After Alexander's death, deadly disputes arose between his two generals—Antigonos and Seleukos Nikator for gaining supreme power in the conquered Asiatic

countries. However, in 312 B.C. Seleukos Nikator defeated Antigonos and took possession of Babylon which made him the lawful master of the Central and Western Asia, including the whole of Makurānate[1]. By a close study of the historian's description of the country, one can form an idea of the Makurān of today without visiting it, for the country has little changed since then. The triumphant marches of Seleukos Nikator from the confines of Babylon to the wastes of Makūrān, excited the ambitious Greek general to lay hands on Indian territories. He crossed river Indus in 305 B.C. where he encountered the armies of Chandragupta of Maghada who proved too strong for him, and he had to retreat ignomiously. The vanquished ceded Makurān and lands which he held west of Indus to the victor. After this episode, very little is known about the country till the Sāsānid ascendency. The boundary of the contemporary Baluchistan and Makurān during the Ashkānians (249 B.C.—226 A.D.) agree to some extent to the boundaries of the present Baluch regions. It was bounded on the North by Kabulistan and Kandahār, on the southern side it fringed the Arabian ocean, on the eastern side bordered by Sind, and Kirmān marked the western limit[2].

The Sāsānid dynasty

Under the Sāsānid, the entire Persian Empire, broadly speaking, had been a commonwealth or a loose confederation of provinces, ruled by local rulers, only in union with the centre at the time of common gain or common danger. In some cases the name of the ruler corresponded to the name of the province, he ruled. Makurān Shah yoked the Sindians, Kaigān Shah dictated the fate of Makurān, while Seistan yielded to the sceptre of Sagastān Shah[3].

The later Sāsānid rulers are authenticated by history to have established themselves as masters of Makurān. The conquest which the Sāsānid achieved over this part of ancient Baluchistan was not only in commerce and trade but it was a true military conquest followed by territorial aggrandizement. It seems that Makurān supplied contingents to the Sāsānid over Lords when demanded by occasion. Under the Sāsānid rulers, Makurān was a thriving centre of the Zoroastrian worship. The author of the Kār-namak-i-Ardeshir Pāpakān gives the following text concerning the fight of Ardeshir with Ardwān. Ardeshir Pāpakān, or Artaxerxes was son of Pāpak, (226-241 A.D.), the founder of the Sāsānid line.

اپر، کارژار، ی، ارتخشتر، اپاک، اردوان و په، زنی، گرفتن، ی، دختر، ی، اردوان -

(۱) وسپاه، آرابست، او، در، آتور، فرنباک، کارژار، اپاک، اردوان، مت - (۲) وآن، سپاه، ی، اردوان، هموین، کوشت، میر، و خواستک، وستور، وبونک اژش، بر، یستیت، خوت، په، ستاخر، نشت . . . (۳) کرمان و مکرستان، پارس، کوستک، کوستک، سپاه، په، وس، مرک، گرد، کرت، او، کارژار، ی، اردوان، فرستیت -

(۴) چهار، ماهکان، هر، روژ، کارژار، کوشش، ی، وس، وت -

1. Early history of India by Vincent Smith, p. 111.
2. Tārīkh-e-Tamadun-e-Irān Sāsānī, by S'aeed Nafīsi, p. 3.
3. Irān Nāmeh or Kārnāmai Irāniān-dar 'Asar Ashkāniān, Vol. II, (Chapter I), p. 78, by 'Abbās Pūr Muhammad 'Alī Shustari.

(٥) اردوان، اژ، کوستک، کوستک، چیگون، از، رییی، دنباوند، دیلمان، وپتشخوار گر، سپاه، وآخور، خواست (٦) اژ آن چیگون، فرهٔ (خرهٔ)، ی، کیان، اپاک ارتخشیر، بوت، ارتخشیر، پیروژیه، وندات۔

(٧) افش اردوان، کوشت، وهموین، هیر، و خواستک، او، دست ارتخشیر، مت، و دخت، اردوان، په، زنی، کرت۔

Translation of the above in modern Persian is:—

کارزار اردشیر با اردوان و بزنی گرفتن او دختر اردوان را (١) سپس اردشیر سپاه آراست و بدر آذر فرنباک رفته مراد خواست و بکار زار سپاه اردوان رفت۔

(٢) و همگی آن سپاه کشته مال و خواسته و ستور و نبه شان بگرفت و خود باستخر رفته نشیمن ساخت۔

(٣) و از کرمان و مکران و پارس ناحیه بناحیه سپاه بیمر گرد کرده بکار زار اردوان می فرستاد۔

(٤) وچهار ماه هر روز کارزار و کشتار برپا بود۔

(٥) اردوان از ری و دماوند و دیلمان و مازندران و گیلان ناحیه بناحیه سپاه و سواره خواست۔

(٦) ولی چون فره کیان با اردشیر بود اردشیر فیروزی یافت۔

(٧) و اردوان را کشته همگی مال و خواستهٔ او بدست آورد و دختروی بزنی گرفت۔

Bahram Gor, the 14th sovereign of the Sāsānid Dynasty (404-427 A.D.), married the daughter of Sher Māh of Hind who bestowed 'the country of Sind and the territory of Makuran' as dowry to his daughter[1].

Two centuries after this event, it is mentioned that Khusro Pervez (591-628 A.D.) re-established the previous boundaries of his empire towards the Indus[2].

Brahman dynasty of Sind

About the commencement of the Muhammadan Era, the Brahman Dynasty of Sind held sway over Makurān. The Chachnāmeh gives the following description of Rāi Chach en route Kirmān to determine the western boundaries of his dominions in 635-636 A.D.:—

'When Chach had settled these matters, he made up his mind to determine the boundary of Kirmān, which was adjacent to the possessions of the chiefs of Hind. At this time two years had elapsed since the Hijra of the Prophet of God, (peace be upon him).

'After the death of Kisra bin Hurmuz bin Fars and the disruption of his dominions, the management of the affairs of the Kingdom devolved upon a woman. When Chach was informed of this, he determined to go to Kirmān with a considerable force. At an auspicious time, which was fixed by the astrologers, he marched towards Armabel[3]. When he arrived there, the chief of the place came to receive him.

1. "See Abu Sa'īd-'Abdul-Haī Gardaizi's history, 'Zayn al-Akhbār'. Ed. M. Nāzim. (E.G. Browne Memorial series 1928).
2. Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 407.
3. i.e., Bela.

Chach proceeded from thence to Makurān. Every chief that was met offered him submissions. When he had crossed the province of Makuran and the hills, he entered another district. There was an old fort here called Kanarpur. He ordered it to be rebuilt and according to the Hindu custom a 'naubat' of five musical instruments was ordered to be played every evening and morning in the fort. He collected all the people of the surrounding villages and completed the building. He marched from this place towards Kirmān and halted on the banks of a river which runs between the country and Makurān. There he fixed the eastern boundary, that is, the boundary between Makurān and Kirmān and planted numerous date trees there upon the banks of the stream. He also set up a mark saying: "This was the boundary of Hind in the time of Chach bin Sillaij bin Basabas[1]. Now that boundary has come into our possession[2]."

The Arab conquest

The Arabs appeared in Baluchistan in an age when decay and devastation had crept into the power and prestige of the Brahman dynasty. The Arab conquest of Makurān[3], according to Al-Tabari, was effected by Hakam ibn Amr Al-Taghlabi[4], who was deputed to the conquest of the land in A.H. 23 (644 A.D.) by the second Caliph of Islam. He marched at the head of his forces and encamped on the side of the Makurān river where Rasal, the King of Makurān, anticipated the Muslim Army in crossing the river. After a pitched battle, Rasal was defeated and Makurān yielded to the conqueror. Hakam despatched the news of the victory along with few elephants which were captured in the booty. 'Umar, the Caliph, enquired from Sahar 'Abdi, the messenger, about the particulars of the Makurānate expedition. He gave an animated description of the land. "It is a land" he replied, "where the plains are stony and the water is scanty; where the fruits are unsavoury and the enemy, noted for their bravery; where good is small and evil is all in all; and where showers of plenty scarcely fall." Hearing this, the Caliph said, 'you need not have been particular about rhyming when recounting events'. "I have only described facts", rejoined Sahar. The historian Al-Belādhuri writes that the Muslim advance penetrated as far as the low lying parts of Daibal and Thana.

Elliot in his 'History of India' (Dawson's Edition), gives altogether a different description of the Arab conquest of Makurān. He mentions Malik S'ad as the ruler of Makurān at the eve of the Arab conquest. After a stubborn resistance, he was subdued and Makurān added to the Arab realm. 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullah is described as the Arab General who conducted the expedition. After the conquest, 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdullah wrote a letter to the Caliph which had recourse to poesy:

1. The Chachnāmeh gives it as Bisās.
2. Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 157. See also Chachnāmeh translated by M. K. Fredunbeg, p. 38.
3. Maulānā M'uīn-ud-Dīn Nadvi in his famous work "Khulfā-i-Rāshidīn", edition II, p. 38, wrongly states the conquest of Makurān under the Caliphate of Abu Bakr. The Muslim army under the Caliphate of the first Caliph of Islām never stepped beyond the frontiers of 'Irāq.
4. See also "Tārīkh-al-Kāmil" by Ibn-ul-Athīr. (1160-1234 A.D.).

'Commander of the faithful, it is a country of which the mountains are mountains indeed and the plains of which are the real mountains; it is a country with so little water that its dates are the worst of dates, and the inhabitants are the most warlike men, if thou hadst a less numerous army there, it would be annahilated and could do nothing; if thy army is considerable it will perish of hunger, because there are no victuals. The country beyond is still worse'.

It is also mentioned that 'Amr bin Al-'Aās al-Tamimi was the commander to whom the Ruler of Nimroz delivered up Zaranj and that during the Caliphate of M'uāwiyah, 'Abdullah bin Abdullah-As-Salūl, after conquering Kirmān in 22 A.H. (642-43 A.D.) sent a force under Hakam bin 'Amr Th'alabi (few say 'Amr bin 'Adi) to subdue Makurān. But Yāfāi gives another version. He states that 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah despatched Hakam bin 'Amr As-Th'alabi, Shihāb bin Muhārib bin Shihāb, and Sahl bin 'Abdī to conquer Makurān, which was then ruled by Malik S'ad. In the Indian language the ruler was styled then as Zabnil (Ran Thel). 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah himself, later, on started towards Makurān. S'ad sent messengers to the Chiefs of Sind to send fresh troops. His ranks were augmented from day to day by the continuous addition of new Indian troops. The grave situation forced 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah to alarm his men: "why art thou thus posted at such a distance? Why delay until thou get all the world about thee". The Arab army attacked the infidels in the small hours of the night under the command of Hakam bin 'Amr Th'alabi and Shihāb-bin-Muhārib bin Shihāb. Malik Sa'd was killed and his army routed. Vast booty was captured by the Arabs, and the whole of Makurān fell before the irresistable might of the Semites. This event occurred towards the end of the year 23 A. H. (end of October 644 A.D.[1]). The above statement seems to be entirely wrong, M'uāwiya was proclaimed Caliph at Iliya (Jerusalem) in A.H. 40 (661 A.D.)[2], and Makurān yielded to the Arabs in 644 A.D. during the last days of 'Umar's caliphate. The account of Tabari is quite correct.

Al-Belādhuri gives another version. He mentions that Caliph 'Uthmān after appointing 'Abdullah bin Amir bin Kurez as the Governor of 'Irāq, ordered him to send an expeditionary force towards Baluchistan and Sind. Accordingly 'Abdullah sent Hakim bin Jabalah al-'Advi with an Arab force to reconnoitre the country. He surveyed the country and was ordered by 'Abdullah to explain the situation personally to the Caliph at Madinah: "O Commander of the Faithful", he said to the Caliph, "it is a country where water is scant, fruits are of worst kind, impregnable thieves, if army be small, they will perish, if great then will die of hunger". The Caliph abandoned the idea of extending the influence of the Crescent further beyond Persia proper. Ibn-i-Kalbi says that Hakīm bin Jabalah al-'Abdi not only reconnoitred the land but conquered it. Al-Belādhuri mentions that in 39 A.H. under the Caliphate of 'Ali, Hārith bin Marah al-'Abdi attacked Makurān and conquered it. Besides the inestimable booty, the victorious general distributed one thousand slaves among his men. Hārith and his men advanced further towards Kaikān (the modern Nāl, in Jhalāwan), but in a bloody encounter, fighting on their last legs, were

1. "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan" by H. G. Raverty, p. 568.

2. Tabari, Vol. II, p. 4; Mas'ūdī, Vol. V, p. 14.

martyred to the last ditcher[1]. This happened in 44 A.H. During the caliphate of M'uāwiya bin abi Sufyān, in 44 A.H. al-Muhalab bin abi Sughra invaded Makurān and at Kaikān he met eighteen Turks riding on horses having cropped tails. They fought desperately with undaunted energy against the Arabs, but all were slaughtered ruthlessly. Al-Muhalab experiencing the bravery of the enemy, addressed his men, "What thing has made them more active than us?" After this, he also clipped the tail of his horse and the chronicler[2] writes that he was the first Muslim who clipped the tail of his horse. One of the poet of Azdi tribe versifies this event:

الم تران الازدليله" بيتوا — به نبه" كالوا خير جيش المهلب

"Have ye not witnessed the young men of Azdi clan, the night when they encamped near Nabtah (a place near Kaikān) and looked more graceful than the whole army of Muhalab." During the Caliphate of Yazīd bin 'Abdul Malik, the Muhalabites were rooted away completely at Kandābīl (Gandāwa) by Hilāl bin Ahwāz Tamemi who murdered in cold blood Mudrak, Mufazal, 'Abdul Malik, Ziyād, Merwān and M'uāwiya, sons of Muhalab.

Ibn-i-Amar, during the rule of M'uāwiyah, appointed 'Abdullah bin Suār 'Abdī as the Governor of Makurān and of the Indian frontier. He invaded Kaikān and before the fight, assembled his men and appealed to the hearts of his people: "O Children of Prophets, Companions, do not turn thine faces from the infidles, so that thine faith may remain free from any flaw and thou acquire the honour of martyrdom[3]." Kaikān, we are informed, succumbed to the Arab sword after a stubborn clash against its inhabitants, designated as Turks. Ibn Suār collected immense booty including famouse Kaikānī horses and took all to M'uāwiyah, but soon after his return to Kaikān, he was martyred in a combat against its Turkish inhabitants[4]. In this second compaign when Ibn Suār was martyred, a tradition attributed to Abul Hasan, states that he heard Hātim son of Kutaibah al-Sahli, saying: "That day I myself was in the army when Ibn Suār fought with his youthful fortitude and his men advanced in the same manner, and slaughtered many men of the enemy. After a hotly contested fight they at last fell martyrs and I stripped the dead bodies of the enemy, and found a hundred signet rings." The then Arab poet eulogises Ibn Suār:—

ابن سوار على عداته — موقدالنار و قتال السغب

'Ibn Suār inspite of his weaknesses,
was hospitable and outfaced hunger.'

After Ibn Suār, Ziyād bin Sufyān appointed Sinān ibn Salmah bin Muhabiq al-Hazilī who succeeded to the supreme command of the Arab forces. He founded many cities in Makurān, built edifices and made prosperity possible through out the country. About 664 A.D. under the Caliphate of M'uāwiyah, Makurān owed allegiance to the Crescent. Sinān populated many dreary places into flourishing

1. The author of the Chachnāmeh, 'Ali son of Muhammad āl-Kufi writes that Hārīth was encountered by 20,000 Kaikānis and that the former was completely defeated.
2. Belādhuri.
3. See Chachnāmeh by 'Ali son of Muhammad al-Kūfī.
4. Sair-al-Sahābah, Vol. VI, p. 64, edited by Shah M'uīn-ud-Dīn Ahmad Nadvi.

emporiums. He went to war with the coastal people—the Meds, extended his conquests, and many expeditions were pushed up to the Sind border. Places like Bukān and Kaikān[1] were occupied and cemented all the congeries of his territories by a common bond of interest. Bukān was the central Kalāt highland of which Kusdār[2] (Khuzdār) was the capital. Al-Belādhuri in his 'Futuh-ul-Buldān, furnishes us with few verses versified by the contemporary Arab poet about Khuzdār. Sinān ibn Salmah was treacherously slain at Khuzdār and entombed there:—

حل بقصدار فاضحى بها   فى القبر لم يغفل مع الغافلين

لله بقصدار واعنا بها   اى فتى دنيا أجنت و دين

1. The Arab chroniclers called the central Kalāt and Jhālāwān plateau as Tūrān. The author of the 'Kitāb-i-Masālik wā Mamālik' says "among the towns of Tūrān are Kirkanān, Kusdār, etc; which in Elliot's version is "Kanikanān", "Kasdār", and which he states "Gildemeister reads 'Kizkānān', and 'Kazdār'." At page 38, Elliot, in his translation, has, "Kasdār is a city with dependent towns and villages. The Governor is M'uīn bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the name of Khalifa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kābā-Kanān", and in a note it is said, "Kiskanān, Gildemeister," and in another place it is said that "Kasdār is the chief city of Tūrān." In the translation of Al-Idrisi's same work, p. 77, "Kirkayān", is described as a town and in the foot note, "in the Nubian Geographer's list it is Kircaiān." At page 80, it is told that "Fīrabūz is a town belonging to Makrān", and then, that Kir (Kej or Kech) is "two days journey distant from it." After that it is stated that "Darak is three day's journey from Fīrabūz", and thence to "Rāsak" is "three days journey", and all these are situated on the coastal line of Makurān. Again it is mentioned that "the territory of Rāsak is divided into two districts, one named "Al Kharūj, the other Kir-Kayān. The sugarcane is much cultivated . . . The people of Makrān speak Persian—Tubarān (Tūrān) is near Fahraj which is under Kirmān. From hence to "Fardān, four days journey. Kirkayān lies west of Fardān on the road to Tubarān, which he says, refers to Tūrān, and the principal place is "Kasdār". At page 128, it is mentioned that, "Amrān ibn-e-Mūsā marched to Kikān against the Jats who were defeated and subjugated. He built a city there which he called al-Baiza." Ahmad ibn-e-Yahyā, famous as al-Belādhuri, says Kikān is in Sind near the frontiers of Khurāsān and is inhabited by the Jats. Elliot with all his knowledge confounded the name with that of Kākar Pathans. He says Kirkayān or Kiskanān means the country of Kākar Pathans. He seems to be confused. This "Kirkanān", or Kirkayān is the "Kikān" of al-Belādhuri who plainly indicates its whereabout. Elliot in his own translation from the old writer, on page 117, states, "Abul Ashās attacked and conquered Nukān and Nikān . . . He captured Kusdār and took prisoners there". In the extracts from the "Chachnāmeh", page 138, it is mentioned that the dominion of "Sihrās extended, on the east to the frontiers of Kashmir, on the west to Makrān, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to Debal and on the north to the mountains of Kardān or Karwān (Khārān) and to Kaikānān . . . He (the Rajah) dwelt at the capital, Alor, and kept under his own rule Kārdān, and Kaikānān and Banarhas or Barhas." Elliot in his translation of the extracts from Tārīkh-i-M'asūmi, page 307 writes, "He (Shah Beg) took Kakan (which is Baihaki's Kai-Kāhān, without doubt, and which he mentions along with Kusdār and Mukrān) and Bāghbān." Under the title of "The Arabs in Sind", in the appendix to the same volume, Elliot has quoted a quotation from the 'Chachnāmeh' that, "in the country of Sind there is a high mountain called Kaikānān". The Kaikānis are called Turks by al-Belādhuri. 'Amran ibn Mūsā ibn Yahya, the Barmaki, built a city in 'Nukān' which is mentioned along with Kikān and called the former al-Baiza, signifying in Arabic as 'the Bright' or 'the white' which is in many places clearly stated as the chief town of Kirkānān. The seats of Arab Cantonments in Tūrān were Baiza, Kusdār and Kandābel or Kandeil. The Kaikān or Kikān or Kirkāyān or Kizkānān is the modern town of Nāl in the Jhalāwān district of Kalāt.

2. Kusdār is the modern town of Khuzdār in Jhalāwān and Kandābel is the modern Gandāwa in Kachhi district, the Nudhiya of the Arabs. The author of the "Kitab-i-Masālik wā Mamālik", describes the land of Nudah as a great tract of flat land between Tūrān, Makurān and the Multan

Continued on page 62

"He went to Kusdār and there entered the grave,
He never ignored the ignorants,
What a fine place is Kusdār,
and how fine are its grapes,
Religion and world has snatched back
the excellent man of the world and religion."

Abu Khalah Bahkiri composed the following verses on the martyrdom of Sinān:—

"Tell of Sinān son of Mauzar and his brothers,
Respectful greetings to them.
I saw him in his day of glory.
In this age he was like an impregnable hill.
They (the infidels) turned rebellious and
ripened a hard design,
(But) the vile, who revolt, never thrive.
Not for a moment did the hero avert
his face or turn his back,
Though a whole world rushed against him.
Like the son of Suār—like the son of Marat
he fought up to his last breath and
razed to the ground many a peak (many nobles)"

The lament of Sinān-ibn-Salmah, the then second governor of Makurān, the post which he held for two years, is interesting beyond praise and remains ever imprinted on the pages of Makurān history concerning its cheerless physical aspects:— "Thou showest me the road to Makurān but what a difference is there, between an order and its execution. I will never enter the country as its name alone terrifies me."

The historian, 'Abdullah Yākūt bin 'Abdullah, in his history[1] quotes few sublime verses said by Al-Jand, one of the companions of Sinān ibn Salmah, who bound his army with the oath that in case of defeat or retreat, he and his men will divorce their wives:—

رايت هذيلا ا حدثت فى يمينها — طلاق نساءٍ ما يسوق لها مهرا

لهان على حلفته ابن محبق — اذا رفعت اعنا قها حلقا صغرا

"I saw Hazil saying a new thing,
that without paying dower,
He is taking oath to divorce their wives,
the oath of ibn Muhabiq has become light on me,
When women raise their necks in order to show
their golden ear rings",—(as I have given the dower).

Continued from page 61

territory. According al-Maqaddasi (375 A.H./985 A.D.) both Kusdār and Kandabel were the main towns of Tūrān division. Tūrān of those days is the present Jhalāwān district of Kalāt. Mahali and Kizkānān were also famous towns of Tūrān. The smaller towns consisted of Hab, Khaikur, Rud, Surāb, Mordān, Rustakhān, Khuzī, Roof, Maskān and Baj-Zard.

1. See "Mu'ajum-ul-Buldān."

Ibn-i-Kalbi holds that after ibn-i-Muhabiq, Ziyād appointed Rāshid bin 'Amr al-Judedi al Azdi, as the Governor of Makurān. Before the appointment of Rāshid to Makurān, he was summoned by M'uāwiyah to his capital. The latter made him sit with himself on the throne and said: "Rāshid is a noble personage, all-worthy of being a leader. Respect him, obey him and assist him during the war, and never leave him alone." He invaded Kaikān (Nāl) successfully and after subduing it, fought against the Meds who prepared since long for a sturdy resistance but in a severe action Rāshid was killed and the Arabs reciprocated their general's loss by annahilating the Meds completely. A little afterwards, the crude autocracy of the Arabs failed to retaliate with the virility and the vigour of the Makurānis—licentiousness and rioting dominated each village and in all probability, the course of events invited the caliphal intervention from the Palaces of Damascus. 'Ibād bin Ziyād was ordered to pacify the country and to spur the advance of the Crescent further north east of Makurān. He invaded the country from Sijistān (Seistān), conquered the present Chāgai agency of Baluchistan and after crossing river Helmand started towards Kandahār. After a terrible carnage, Kandahār yielded to the invaders, her idols were knocked down and her people idled. Ibn Muferigh versed the Kandahār and Baluchistan compaigns as follows:—

(١) كم بالجروم و ارض الهند من قرم   ومن سرائنک قتلی لاهم قبروا
(٢) بقندهار ومن تكتب منيته   بقندهار يرجم دونه الخبر

"In the Garmsir (Baluchistan and Shorāwak)
territories and in Hind,
many brave soldiers of ours gave their lives,
and many of whom were not entombed.
This is the story of Kandahār.
He who died there,
None has heard his name again".

After 'Ibād, Ziyād appointed Abu al-Ashāth bin Jardu al-'Abdi as the governor of Makurān. He invaded and finally conquered Buqān (a place in Baluchistan) and Kaikān. The people of Kusdār, (modern Khuzdār in Baluchistan) once again prepared to be at handgrips with the Arabs. Matters were leading up to one inevitable end—the disruption of the Arab supremacy which was torn with internal dissensions. Al-Ashāth with the flower of his Arab soldiery attacked Kusdār and established once again the reputation of Arabs as redoubtable warriors and brave champions of the Crescent. This was the second conquest of the town. After al-Ashāth, ibn Harri al-Bāhili was entrusted with the command of the country. He tested the Arab sword in remote corners of the country and one of his companions shares his glory:

لولا طعانی بالبوقان مارجعت
منه سرايا ابن حرى با سلاب

"Had I not displayed spearmanship in Buqān,
then ibn Harri would not have inherited
considerable booty."

Hajjāj-bin-Yūsuf, the Governor of 'Irāq, appointed S'aīd-bin-Aslam Kalabi as the Governor of Makurān. After one year's rule, S'aīd was killed by M'uāwiya and Muhammad, sons of Hārith Alafi. Farzdak immortalizes this event in his verses:

"O S'aid, thou prepared for the holy war, but the earth hath closed its doors against thyself and held thee fast in its bosom. The land of Makurān verily closed around S'aīd,—
S'aīd was generous and from whose liberal fountain no bucket ever came forth empty,
Hard was it to rouse thee to anger, and courageous were the guards at thine gate, (but alas, thou art gone);
When my eyes recall (thine face),
O, S'aīd they shower unceasing tears and mine grief is ever renewed."

Hajjāj afterwards appointed Mujā'ā bin Ser Tamemi. He subdued the Arab rebels and conquered all the neighbouring territories of Kandābil (modern Gandāwā). After one year, the icy hand of death claimed Mujā'ā as its victim and left his country to mourn for him. It is recorded that he was too murdered by the Alafites. The contemporary Arab poet eulogizes him :

'O Mujā'ā, the wars in which thou took part,
their record is only glorified by thine name'.

After Mūjā'ā, Hajjāj appointed Muhammad bin Hārūn bin Zara al-Numri surnamed Makurāni, a man of predominant excellence, as Governor of the country and he kept the post till the invasion of Sind by 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muhammad bin Qāsim in 712 A.D.[1] Hajjāj wrote to Muhammad bin Hārūn, "Find out the Alafīs, and try your best to secure them, and exact vengeance due to S'aīd from them." This was fully accorded. "I have made," Hārūn wrote to Hajjāj, "one of the Alafīs, food for the sword of the Caliph; if my life lasts, and fortune smiles, I hope to capture others too." A little before when Muhammad bin Qāsīm led the Makurān expedition, a boat of Arabs was seized by the Nagāmrah robbers at Debal. Some Arab women were also captured. The Arab women invoked in an agony of despondency the name of Hajjāj, 'O, Hajjāj! O, Hajjāj! listen to us, help us." Later on when Hajjāj was informed of the incident, he said, as if in reply to the call of the women, "Here am I, here am I." Hajjāj immediately sent a messenger to Rājah Dāhar and addressed a letter to Muhammad bin Hārūn, in which he wrote, "Send a trustworthy officer along with this messenger to Dāhar to tell him to set the Muslim women at liberty, and to return the presents intended for the caliph. He should also learn all about the women." Few years later, with his dominion tranquillized and well rounded out, Muhammad bin Hārūn accompanied Muhammad bin Qāsim and conquered Kanzboor (Panjgūr) and Armael. From Armael the Muslim army started towards Debal. In the way Muhammad bin Hārūn died and was buried at Bela, the capital of the present Las-Bela State.

1. According to the author of 'Jāmi-ut-Tawārīkh', Sind was invaded by the Arabs in 96 A.H. (714-15 A.D.); Raverty gives the date as 92 A.H (710-11 A.D.) but the actual date is 93 A.H. (712 A.D.); Cf. Yāqūbi, Vol. II, p. 346.

The 'Abbāsid Caliph, al-Mansūr, appointed in 142 A. H. Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Taghlabi as the Governor of Sind. He conquered Kābul and Multān. An Arab Chief of Kandābīl rebelled against him, eventually, Hishām invaded Kandābīl and ordered the Arab inhabitants to leave the country. In 221 A. H. under the Caliphate of al-Mutassim billāh, 'Amrān bin Mūsā guided the destinies of the Sindis. He invaded Kaikān then disrupted by disruptions, and slaughtered mercilessly its Jat population. Meanwhile at Kandābil, Muhammad bin Khalīl declared himself independent. 'Amrān, who always kept his powder dry advanced towards Kandābīl, razed its fort to the ground and deported majority of its people to Kusdār. In the 10th century Ibn Haukal, noticed that the ruler of Makurān was an Arab, 'Isā bin Madān, whose residence was at Kīz (the modern Kech) about half the size of the City of Multān. According to al-Maqaddasi (375 A.H.-985 A.D.), Turān (the central Kalāt highland *i.e.* mainly Jhālāwān) was ruled during his time by Abul Qāsim Basri who was a just ruler and claimed the characteristics of a judge though he could not differentiate between four and five. The boundaries of Turān seems to be extended as al-Maqaddasi states that thirty five years before his visit, the district of Buddha or Nudha (the present Larkānā and Dādū districts of Sind) with its Capital Kandābīl was annexed with Turān.

Among the various important dynasties that held their sway over the country after the Arabs, were the Saffarides, Dailamites, Seljukides, Ghaznavides and the Mongols, etc. The domination of these dynasties over the land was short lived and each followed one another in quick succession.

Medieval Persian domination

The first Persian dynasty, that subdued Baluchistan after the supremacy of the Arabs, was the Saffarides. Y'aqūb bin-Lais, the founder of the Saffāri and Coppersmith dynasty, conquered Baluchistan and in the course of time, the country was divided under a confederacy of chiefs. A potter and a robber by profession, Y'aqūb, was too a bold and an able leader. After his death, most of the territories held by the Saffarides passed under the rule of the Samanids, and in 287 A. H. (900 A.D.) Ameer 'Ism'aīl ibn Ahmad subdued Kirmān, Seistān, Khurāsān and some parts of Hind. At this period, the Buwahides ruled over Kirmān and Makūrān. The Dailami dynasty appears to have held the country partially as mentioned that Abul Favaris collected contingents from Baluchistan and Kirmān while attacking his brother Sultan ud-Dowla. In A.H. 419 (A.D. 1029) Abul Favaris is described to have led a strong force combed out from Makūrān and Kirmān to operate against Shīrāz. But he died on the way and the expedition proved a failure.

The Seljuks

Baluchistan also fell under the Seljuk yoke as stated by historian Ahmad 'Alī Khan that in the reign of Tughral Shah, Makūrān contributed 30,000 dīnārs to the Seljuk Treasury. After Tughral Shah, Arsalān Shah and Bahram Shah divided the territory. The former received Bardsīr, Jiruft, Sirjān and Khabīs. The latter received Bām and Makūrān. The last of the Seljuk ruler of Kirmān and Makūrān, Muhammad Shah, died in 583 A.H. (1187-88 A.D.).

The Ghaznavide Suzerainty

Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni extended his power from Multān over the plains of Nudhiya (Kachi) and also held the Kalāt Plateau as mentioned in Tabkāt-i-Nāsri that Kusdār was subject to him. Under the Ghaznavide sovereigns, Khuzdār was the principal town both commercially and strategically. The author of 'Baihaki' mentions that Mahmūd Ghaznavi after disposing off the affair of the Illak Khan and the Turks, determined to march against Kusdār (Khuzdār), the ruler of which being a Muslim had rebelled[1]. The ruler of the place was taken by surprise and he submitted to the Ghaznavide suzerain without any show. He paid five times 100,000 dirhams in money, the arrears of tribute; presented fifteen elephants as a Pesh-Kash; and was allowed to retain his country as a vassal to the Ghazni Court. During the Ghaznavide supremacy, Kusdār stood as a garrison town to overawe the chiefs of Makurān who were feudatories of Ghazni and to maintain authority in the southern portion of Ar-rukhaj[2]. In 1031 A. D. the entire Makurān was subdued by supplanting all minor rival chiefships. The then Makurān was ruled by the Maadanite rulers[3]. The 'Tārīkh-i-Baihakī' contains the following incidental allusion to this family and clearly manifests the position these rulers held in the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni and his son, Sultān 'Masūd: 'When Maadan (Wālī of Makurān) died, his two sons, 'Isā and 'Abul Askar quarrelled over their inheritance. But as the martial and agricultural classes were in favour of 'Isā, Abūl Askar fled from the country'. This occurred in 412 A.H. (17th April 1021 A.D.) Abul Askar left for Seistān where he was received courteously by Khawāja Bu Nasr Khāfi (the intendent of Sultān Mahmūd who was on his expedition to Somnāth). Sultān Mahmūd after his return from Somnāth, summoned Abul Askar to Ghazni. 'Isā found himself on the horns of a dilemma. In order to save and secure his station, he sent immediately a deputation consisting of the notables and Ameers of Kej headed by the Kāzi of Makurān to the Court of his suzerain. To sacrifice himself to the grace of Mahmūd, he sent a letter with deputation which clearly set forth his true position to the Sultan who confirmed 'Isa as the ruler and flabbergasted Askar to stay at Ghazni. After Mahmūd's death, his son Mas'ūd sent an expedition towards Rei. Meanwhile some discontentment prevailed among the governors and feudatories of the empire. 'Isā-bin-Maadan was also one of the suspicious outlaws who was pouring oil on troubled waters. An expedition was despatched against 'Isā and a strong reinforcement was sent to Khuzdār in support of the expedition. The Makurān chief, bold in his designs, did not care to keep out of harm's way; he felt that the Makurān's throne was a Harmonia's necklace. He raised an army of 2,000 infantry from the Kechīs, Rekīs[4] and Makurānīs and also 6,000 horsemen. At Bampur the rival armies unfurled the black flag. The Jemadar (Master of the Royal Wardrobes) commanding the Ghaznavide troops placed 2,000 chosen horsemen (Sultani or Regular, Turkish horse) in ambush within the date grooves. The Makurānīs employed 10 elephants specially trained for war. A well

1. See also Jāmi-ut-Tawārikh.
2. Tārīkh-i-Baihaki, Bib. Indica.
3. Bibliotheca India, Cal., 1862, Persian text.
4. The Rekis are a powerful Baluch tribe inhabiting Khewash, Robdār and Kachaw in Persian Baluchistan bordering Seistān.

contested battle ensued and both the sides fought tooth and nail. The Ghaznavide forces were severely put to the touch and were on the brink of ruin when the prowest Jemadār suddenly mustered up in rallying his scattered forces, along with those lying in ambush, and with a renewed attack carried away the day by force and arms. The vanquished ruler hauled in his sails, was finally caught and put to the sword. For four days Makurān was weathered by the Ghaznavide storm which completely changed its history. Thousands were either killed or carried away captive. Abul Askar was declared ruler.

In 439 A.H. (1047-48 A.D.) during the reign of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dowlah, Maudūd, son of Sultān Mas'ūd, Khuzdār again denounced as a rebel and its Wālī prepared to dare the devil. The Sultān despatched Ameer, the great chamberlain, to subdue Khuzdār. He reduced the contumacy to submission, the tribute which had been withheld was paid, and continued to be remitted. In the following year, Abul Hassan, the Seneschal of Ghazni, at the head of a considerable force passed via Khuzdār to Sind and defeated Ahannīn, the Hākim of Bakhar.

The Ghurid supremacy

The last Ghaznavide Sultān, 'Abdur Rashīd, enjoyed the Ghaznavide throne for two years and a half, from 441 A.H. to 443 A.H. (1049-1052 A.D.). He was put to death by the men of the Seljūk sovereign, Alp-Arsalān, the great lion. Later on, the Ghazni state was usurped by M'uīz-ud-Dīn Muhammad-i-Sām, the Shansābāni Tājik Ghori. In 587 A.H. (1191 A.D.) all the territory of the Ghaznavide ruler between Uchh and Multān as far as Dewāl on the sea coast was added to the Ghurid Empire. The province of Kandahār (Bālyūs) including Kalāt-i-Nichārah, Shāl, Mastung and Khuzdār came under the sway of the Ghurids. After the death of M'uīz-ud-Dīn Muhammad-i-Sām Ghurī, his slave Qutb-ud-Dīn became the sovereign of India. He yielded the breath in 607 A.H. (end of 1210 A.D.). He was succeeded by Nāsir-ud-Dīn Kabājah, with the title of Sultān. It was in the time of Nāsir-ud-Dīn Kabājah, that the 'Arabic Chronicle' known as 'Fath Nāmeh' was translated into Persian language known as the 'Chach Nāmeh' and was dedicated to that Sultān's Minister, the Sadr-i-Jahān and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Hussain ibn 'Ali Bakr-al-Ashāri. In this chronicle, Sīwī and its districts are first mentioned. Sīwī was ruled then by a Muslim Rānah of Hindu descent, named Wakiya son of Pannun Channun. In Rajab, 624 A.H. (July, 1227 A.D.), Kabājah was attacked by his rival, Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Iyaltimīsh, the slave of his brother-in-law. In the fight for survival, Kabājah was drowned in the river Indus. The Wazīr of Sultān Iyaltimīsh, Muhammad Junaidī, advanced towards Bakhar, the whole country as far as Dēwal or Debal was captured and Sinān-ud-Dīn Chatisar, the Sumrah ruler of Dēwal submitted and the authority of Sultān was acknowledged over Kusdār and a part of Makurān[1].

The Ghuzz Turks

The Ghuzz or Oghuz Turks after capturing Sultān M'uīz-ud-Dīn Sanjar, extirpated completely the Seljūk Empire. Khurāsān and the dependencies of the Ghazni kingdom including greater part of Kābul and all the Bālyūs or Kandahār territory lay under the Ghuzz spoliators. The Ghuzz held Ghazni for twelve years and

1. 'Tāj-ūl-M'aāsir', written about 624 A.H. (1227 A.D.).

in the year 596 A. H. (1199-1200A.D.) after few bloody battles, they were thrown off by the Shansābānī Tājik Ghorids, whereas thousands of Ghuzz families migrated to Kirmān. A few years before their final destruction, in 581 A.H. (1185-86 A.D.) they settled in Kirmān and in 583 A.H. (1187-88 A.D.) succeeded in conquering Kirmān and part of Makūrān under their leader 'Imād-ud-Dīn Dīnār. After him two successors of the tribe ruled these parts for a considerable time and the final collapse of the dynasty was effected in 607 A.H. (1210-11 A.D.).

Mongol menace

Malik Qawām-ud-Dīn Zuzānī made himself the ruler of Kīrmān and its dependencies on the part of the Khawārazm Shāh; having subdued in Shawwal 609 A.H. (1212-13 A.D.) Bām and Jiraft, entered Gawāshīr, and after a short time, Kech and Makūrān followed the suit.

A little before when the Mongol host appeared on the horizon and made a clean sweep of the Central Asiatic kingdoms, Malik Shujā-ud-Dīn of Zuzān, a nominee of the last Shāh of Khīvā, subdued Bampur and then proceeded to Makūrān and captured the town of Kech and Tīz.

Burāk, the Hājib, the Karā-Khitāi, during the terrific storm of the Mongols, possessed himself of these territories, and became feudatory of the infidel Mongols. His descendants for generations kept the possession of these parts. A Mongol expedition is said to have penetrated as far as Makūrān about 1223 A.D. under Chagatāī, the son of Chenghiz Khan.

Alwand ibn Karā Iskandar ibn Karā Yūsuf, the Karā Konlu Turkoman, soon after the death of his father who was killed in 841 A.H. (1437-38 A.D.) kept sway for one year over Kirmān, Kech and Makurān. At the beginning of the 15th century, Timur extirpated the Muzaffar family and handed over the province of Kirmān to Ameer Adugui, who after few years sent Jamshid with a mighty force to Baluchistan, which he devastated a little beyond Kech, but could not hold the province permanently and the Makūrānate continued to be ruled by the various Saffaride chiefs. In 1383, Timur's son Mirān Shah led an expedition into Keren (Khārān)[1].

The Kurts

The Mongol Empire during the 14th century held by the Il-Khāns, the venerable descendents of Hūlāgu, was rapidly tottering into pieces; for the descendents of the 'scourge of God', both in Persia and Tūrān were fighting among themselves and most of the petty feudatories were making or had made quite independent of the yoke of the Mongols. The Kurt dynasty of Herāt declared themselves independent and added Kandahār territory (Bālyūs) to their dominion. During the regime of Malik Shams-ud-Dīn Kurt, the principality of Mastung was ruled by Mīrān Shāh, the Kurd. Tāj-ud-Dīn Kurd, brother of Mīrān Shāh, came to Malik Shams-ud-Dīn as a refugee and besought his mercy and succor. The latter in the year 652 A.H. beseiged Mastung. Mālik Shāhin Shāh, Bahrām Shāh and Mīrān Shāh Kurd with five thousand veteran Soldiers then held the fort of Khāsak[2]. The people of Mastung came out of the fort and submitted themselves to the vanity of the Malik

1. "Retrospect of Muhammadan History", by Major David Price, Vol. III, Part I, p. 42, London 1820.
2. The ruins of old Khāsak now known as Khosak exists still six miles on the North West of Mastung.

who handed over the town of Mastung to Tāj-ud-Dīn Kurd and himself attacked the fort of Khāsak. For close upon three and a half month the fort was beseiged and Mīrān Shāh, at length ,was forced to give battle outside the fort with three hundred brave soldiers shielded with helmets and coats of arms. The hostile forces locked up in a war unto death. After a terrific carnage from both sides, conclamation for mercy ran ringing through the field from the Kurds, all of whom yielded to the valour and ferocity of the Kurt invader. Bahrām Shāh and Mīrān Shāh with ninety of his relations and nobles were slaughtered in cold blood[1]. The year following this event, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn again equipped with a formidable army attacked the fort of Tīrī[2], then peopled mainly by the Afghāns. Almār collected all Tīrītes and encountered Shams-ud-Dīn on the battlefield. The former was killed in the thick of battle. The ruthless invader consumed his anger in a disgraceful manner. Fifty Tīrīte nobles were cut into pieces, fifty others were amputated, slitted the nose and ear of fifty dignitaries, and three hundred were cudgelled like a dog. In the year 660 A.H. Nikudar rebelled against king Abqā Khan, who sent his brother Tabsīn with a Mongol force to Herāt to get help from Malik Shams-ud-Dīn. The combined men of Malik and Tabsīn met Nikudar near Kandahār. Four hundred Nikudaris were captured while Nikudar himself escaped towards Mastung. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn Kurd, the ruler of Mastung, came at the head of two thousand men outside the town to receive Nikudar. Prince Tabsīn had already sent Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Tulak Pehlāwān and Muhammad Nahi towards Mastung to close the routes of Nikudar. Hurmuz Tarī, an ally of Tāj-ud-Dīn Kurd, collected two thousand Afghāns from Mastung and its dependencies and attacked Shams-ud-Dīn's men. Tāj-ud-Dīn immediately hurried to the battlefield to assist Hurmuz. The battle precipitated without any result. Tāj-ud-Dīn Kurd returned back, leaving twenty-two of his nobles dead on the battlefield[3].

Supremacy of the Mughal Emperors of India over south eastern Baluchistan

Those areas of Baluchistan which were parts of Multān Sūbah owed allegiance to the Mughal rule. The 'A'īne-i-Akbarī' of Abul Fazal, while dealing with the account of the Bakhar Sarkār of the Multān province, mentions Sīwī (Sibi) as one of the twelve Mahalls constituting that Sarkār. Sīwī paid 13 lakhs, 81 thousand, 930 dāms as revenue but nothing in kind. This sum, at the rate laid down in the A'in-i-Akbari of forty dāms to the rūpī, is equal to just 34,548 rūpīs and a fraction. Meer M'asūm in his history states that in 996 A.H. (1587 A.D.), Sherwiyah Sultān, then governor of the province of Bakhar, despatched his son, Muhammad Hussain Beg to oust the Afghāns from Sīwī which had been lost to Bakhar Sarkār when Meer Sayyid Muhammad, the Meer-i-Adl, withdrew his son and his troops from that place. A pitched battle was fought. The van of Hussain Beg's force consisted of the Buledi Baluchis, all of whom fled on the first attack. The remainder of the army took to flight and reached Bakhar.

1. "The Tārīkh Nāmeh-i-Herāt" by Saif ibn Muhammad ibn Yāqūb al-Herawi, edited by Muhammad Zubair, p. 204.
2. Tīrī is a town in the vicinity of Mastung.
3. "The Tārīkh Nāmeh-i-Herāt", edited by Mohammad Zubair, p. 272.

Abul Fazal describing the bounderies of the Sarkār of Kandahār, then forming a part of the Kābul Sūbah, mentions that, "It extends in breadth from Sind to Farāh. It has Sīwī on the south, Farāh on the west, and Kābul and Ghaznīn between east and north." While describing the mountain ranges, the same author continues, "On the north, the mountain separate into several branches. One stretches away towards Kandahār; another from the ocean to the Kasbah (town) of Koh-bār which they call Rāmgir (Gir or Gīrī, the Sanskrit for a mountain), terminates at Siwistan, and there they call it the Lakhī range. A large Baluch tribe is located therein, whom they style Kalmati, consisting of 20,000 families, among whom are 1,000 horsemen. An excellent breed of camels is produced here. Another branch (of the mountains) extends from Sihwān to Sīwī and that is known as the Kahtar (the modern Kirthar) range, and is the dwelling place of the tribe of Nuhmardi[1] Baluchis who muster 300 horsemen and 7,000 foot. Below this again is another tribe of Baluch, known as Zehri numbering 1,000 persons." The author of A'īn-i-Akbari mentions that while Akbar Bādshāh was at Lahore, that Mirza Jānī Beg Tarkhān, ruler of Sind declared himself independent, and in consequence of that Bādshāh despatched in the year 999 A.H. (1590-91 A.D.) Khān-i-Khānān, 'Abdur Rahīm son of the well-known Bairām Khan for the conquest of Sind and Baluchistan. The Khān-i-Khānān was also ordered by the Emperor to subudue Kandahār via Baluchistan and further instructed him to seek the aid of the Baluch chiefs of Baluchistan by an appeasing policy. The expedition of the Khān-i-Khānān proved successful through the help of the Baluchis, and later on, the Emperor bestowed Baluchistan[2] and Multān as Jāgīr to Rustam Mirza who was ousted from Kandahār by Muzaffar Hussain Mirza, and thence sought the refuge of the Emperor at Lahore[3].

Faizi, the Sarhindi, states that in the year 1003 A.H. (1594-95 A.D.) "a report was received from the Ameers sent against Sīwī, that brave deeds had been shown and, that it had been subjugated." Abul Fazal goes into the more detailed accounts of the above event and thus describes the following particulars: "The fort of Sīwī, which is a strong place, is a dependency of Kandahār, and in past times was ruled by the chiefs of Bakhar, but since a long time it has come under the possession of the Parni Afghans. Syyed, Bahā-ud-dīn Bukhārī, the then feudatory of Uchh; Bakhtyar Beg, the feudatory of the Sarkar of Siwistan; Meer Abul Qāsim, the landlord of Bakhar; Meer M'asūm Bakhari; and other vassals of the Multān Sūbah with their levies, received orders to march upon it. They were ordered to get possession of it peacefully by making some arrangement with the Parnis, if not, they were to be punished and the place taken by force. On the 23rd of the month of Day December, the force started, and the Zamīndārs of Gandāwah namely as Daryā Khan, and Dāūd yielded to the Badshah's authority. On the 3rd of Spandar-Muz (February), the force reached the Sīwī fort and 5,000 men came out to oppose it,

1. Elliot has written as 'Nahmrūī' in his 'History of India', Vol. I; In the Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī as Nuhmardi; in Tuhfat-ul-Kirām, Fatehnāmeh and Frerenāmeh, the name is written as Nuhmardi.

2. Baluchistan here does not mean, the whole Baluchistan of to-day. The Derājāt territory, the present Kachhi, Sibi and Marri-Bugti territories with the present Pathān plateau of Baluchistan were the territories addressed as Baluchistan under the Moghul influence. The rest of Baluchistan was partially free from the Moghul yoke.

3. See 'Sair-ul-Mutākhirīn,' p. 104.

but were ravaged and retired back. After it had been closely invested for some days, the defenders submitted and delivered up the keys. Through this success the country as far as Kandahār and Kech and Makuran[1] came into the possession of the servants of the State." Sīwī alongwith its dependencies was a part of the Multān Sūbah under the Moghuls and it continued to owe fealty to the Mughal suzerains till the avalanchi of Nādir. It is stated that in the forty sixth year of Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr Bādshah, on the first of Ramdhān, 1113 A.H. (January, 1702 A.D.), in the part of Multān Sūbah, a Zamīndār, Bakhtyār Khan, raised the standard of rebellion. Prince Muhammad M'uīz-ud-Dīn, the Subehdar of Multān Sūbah moved against him with a force of 2,000 horse and fresh levies. Bakhtyār was defeated and killed[2]. The author of 'Ma'āsir-i-'Alamgīrī' confirms the above event and states, that the Prince Muhammad M'uīz-ud-Dīn, Subehdar of the province of Multān and Thathah, and Faujdar of the Lakhi jungal, for his good services was honoured and gifted by the Emperor. This rebel was Bakhtyār Khan Bārozai son of Mirzā Khan Pani of Sīwī.

The Saffaride Maliks

In A.H. 1023 (Tuesday, the first of February 1614 A.D.) Ganj 'Alī Khan, Zik Kurd, the second powerful ruler of Kirmān, attacked Baluchistan by Jiruft. Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, son of Malik Dīnār, the Saffar chief of Kech, collected force from the whole of Makurān and the two forces met at Kuchgardan near Bampur where the Saffar chief prudently submitted to the former's arms and the vanquished chief along with his son and members of his family were deported to Isfahān. Shams-ud-Dīn yielded the life in 1027 (1617-1618 A.D.) and was burried at Jalk. Ganj 'Alī Khan appointed Malik Mirza of the same family to succeed the former.

In 1030 A..H. Malik Mirza visited the Court of Shah 'Abbās I. It seems that his (Malik Mirza's) country had been dependent on India and was attached to the province of Sind. But the tribute of the country was merely a nominal one owing to the considerable distance of the land from Agra or Delhi, the then seats of Moghul rulers[3]. Malik Mirza was the greatest of all Maliks and next to him comes his grandfather, Malik Dīnār, famed as a wise and a magnificent man. Malik Mirza visited the Court of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn in 1033 A.H. who assigned to him the district of Ban Fahal (Bampur) written also Ban-fal in some of the chronicles. He served under the Royal standard in the second campaign against Baghdād in 1035 A.H. at the head of a contingent of matchlock-men mainly consisting of the men of Kej and Makurān. He is the last energetic ruler of the Malik dynasty. His successor became a prey to universal corruption and degeneracy and the Malik dynasty succumbed to the fresh vigor of a wild and wanton tribe—the Buledi Baluchis who stepped in their place. The short-lived rule of the Buledis in Makurān succeeded to

1. It is seldom submitted that the conquest of Siwi or submission of the people of Gandāwa, would have brought Kech and Makurān under their possession. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Makurān never owed fealty to the head that ruled Siwi. Therefore, the conquest of Siwi, would have hardly changed the fate of Makurān. It is nothing but the fulsome verbosity of the Persian writers and specially that of Abul Fazal who is always eager to display his knowledge of Shāh Nāmeh for the description of battles, etc. A separate Moghul expedition, later on, might have nominally brought Makurān under the Moghul influence.

2. See 'Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk', by Yahyā Khan.

3. See 'Alam Arā-i-'Abbāsi, (written in the 17th century).

the heritage of the Maliks for about three generations. In the year 1738 A.D. Nādir Shah[1] after the conquest of Delhi, came to Sind and from there ordered Muhammad Takī Khan to march by land to Sind with the forces he had collected for the subjugation of Mascat. Destined for Sind, Takī Khan, determined first the fate of Makurān. He laid siege to the town of Kej (Kech) and reduced to obedience Malik Dīnār. After leaving the country, the Persian general, it appears, restored Malik Dīnār his previous station[2]. The rest of Baluchistan namely Sīwī, Shāl, Chāgai and Khārān passed few years under the short lived tutelage of Nādir Shah but soon broke into independent principalities after his death.

The British Rule

Before the advent of the British rule, Khānate rulers held their nominal sway over the whole of Baluchistan save the northern Pathān belt. In the beginning of the 19th century, the process of dissolution of Persia had been accelerated by alien influences. In 1807, Napoleon Bonaparte, the nightmare of Europe, despatched a mission to Persia. In 1799 when he was in Egypt, he wrote to the Directory 'Mistress of Egypt' France will, by and by, be the Mistress of India'. In the year 1807, Napoleon concluded a treaty of friendship with the then Shah of Persia. Under the terms of this treaty, "France promised to drive Russia from Georgia and to supply Persia with Artillery; in return the Shah was to break with England, confiscate British property, instigate the people of Afghanistan to rebellion (sic), set on foot an army to invade India, and in case the French should also despatch a land force against India, he was to give them a free passage along a line of march to be subsequently laid out, together with means of subsistence[3]."

In view of these developments of grave nature, the British Government could not remain a silent spectator on her western frontier. In 1809 and 1810 the British Government sent her envoys to the Royal Courts of Fateh 'Alī Shah Qājār. Sir Henry Pottinger was assigned to report on the political and economic conditions of Baluchistan and Khurāsān.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the revival of the British interests towards Baluchistan focussed much on account of the nervousness caused by the threats of Russia against the Indian empire, especially about the year 1883 when the Russians occupied Merv in central Asia. It was because of this situation that the 8th Duke of Argyll by coining a new word addressed the situation as 'Mervousness'. Consequently, Russia next to Afghānistān became the nearer neighbour of British India. The Imperial Colonisers of India were, thus, eager to muddle with the affairs 'at the back of beyond', and to use a sound expression of the Duke of Wellington, 'we must be able to see the other side of the hill'. Lord Lytton expressed his views, "I delighted in frontier life and frontier men, who with all their faults are men, and grand men too. I had felt for years what an important factor the trans-Indus tribes are in the defence of India, and how desirable it was that we should be on better terms with them than was possible so long as our policy consisted in keeping them at arm's length,

1. The short-lived supremacy of Nādir has been dealt with in the succeeding chapters and of the Arghun Turks has been mentioned in the preceeding chapter.
2. "Central Asia", by MacGregor, part III, P. 207.
3. 'Sloan's life of Napoleon Bonaparte'.

and our only intercourse with them was confined to punitive expeditions, or the visits of their headmen to our hard-worked official, whose whole time was occupied in writing long reports or in settling troublesome disputes to the satisfaction of no one. I now hoped to be able to put a stop to the blockades and inconclusive reprisals which had been carried on for nearly thirty years with such unsatisfactory results, and I looked forward to turning the wild tribesmen from enemies into friends, a strength instead of a weakness to our government, and to bringing them by degrees within the pale of civilisation[1]."

And again he wrote:

'Moreover, our position with regard to the Border tribes had gradually come to be better understood, and it had been realised that they would be a powerful support to whichever side might be able to count upon their aid; the policy of keeping them at arm's length had been abandoned, and the advantages of reciprocal communication were becoming more appreciated by them and by us[2]."

Another contemporary statement suggested that, 'A strong and friendly Baluchistan is almost as essential to British Indian interests as a strong and friendly Afghanistan.'

In more vigorous words, another political officer states about the Baluchistan's tribal affairs: "Wherever the remedy lies, imperial interests of great weight demand that it should be applied and there is little doubt that if successful, it would add materially to the power of the British Government in one of the most, if not the most, important parts of the north western Frontier, as well as to her prestige throughout central Asia". Mr. Thorburn over-impatient to imperialize this country even suggests in his book that, "to teach the hill tribes a lasting lesson a severe loss must be inflicted on them, by the wholesale destruction of available property such as tawers, houses, crops, etc; while territory must be annexed and leading men or families blotted out by deportation if the work is to be thorough or endurable." The main driving force which brought the British to Baluchistan, was their lust for territorial expansion. The happy political slogan of 'Forward policy' was applied only as a legal camorra to drive the aggressive machine, in order to accellerate conquests over the entire \north western tribal areas. The drowsy reasoning regarding the aggression of Russia was a sort of camouflage to dominate Baluchistan and the North Western Frontier.

"The insolence of aggressor," in the words of Ames, "is usually proportioned to the tameness of the sufferer." We find,the calm, undisturbed and down cast Baluchistan perverted ravenously to taste the drudgery of penning definitions by the British bayonets. The first Imperial contact with the heart of Baluchistan occurred in the year 1838, during the reign of Khān Mehrāb Khan, the then ruler of Kalāt.

On 13th November 1839, the British attacked Kalāt and martyred the Khan and his followers[3]. His son and successor, Khan Naseer Khan II, succeeded to the throne, with whom the British Government patched up treaties and got several

1. "The forward Policy and its results", by Richard Isaac Bruce, C.I.E. p. 3, 4.
2. "The forward policy and its results", p. 4.
3. For full details see the 'Khānate Chapter'.

military bases. Henceforth, the fate of Baluchistan was sealed. From the year 1861-1892 a British statesman, Sir Robert Sandeman, the peaceful conqueror of Baluchistan, calmly and steadily promoted the legacy of the 'forward policy', and pacified the whole of Baluchistan, in a manner, that a British diplomate in the imperial wont, states: "I doubt if there is any part of India where our influence and authority have taken root more kindly and rapidly than they have done in Baluchistan under Sandeman[1]." Sandeman in the words of his chronicler, "was not a man of ordinary nature. He was created by God, it would appear, for putting in order the disturbed country of Baluchistan, and as soon as the country was settled God called him to Himself[2]." Sandeman loved his conquered territory as the best laurels added by him to the Imperial Crown. Even his last words on the death bed that fell from him were, "The Baluch people."

All the British officers, before Sandeman carried a murderous policy in subduing the tribesmen. Sir Charles Napier proclaimed a reward for the head of every tribesman. General John Jacob, riding through the desert of Baluchistan's border was met by a man carrying a sack, who rolled out two heads of tribesmen and asked what reward should be given to him. "Give him two dozen," was Jacob's answer.

The British Imperialists divided Baluchistan into several political divisions each claiming to be independent by name yet each being the slave of one master—the British. The political dissection was followed soon by social distortion. The British rule of eighty years centered round the policy of how to divide and create a more wider gulf of enmity and hatred between the same tribes of the same country. The policy succeeded and hereunto the Baluchis are like a chain drawn asunder. The country stands politically, economically and socially in the back-waters of civilization. The tribal chiefs had been bestowed by the British rulers, with powers hardly less than the Pharoah of the ancient Egypt. They all, as a class, even now enjoy unlimited powers and prestige without the least show of responsibility. The British cornucopia never conveyed grace to the populace but tempests of pillories and other corporal inflictions followed with spiritual bondage. Fortunately, the darkest veil of British Imperialism has been lifted up from the parasitic body politic of Baluchistan and after 15th August 1947, British Baluchistan became one of the provinces of Pakistan as the most weakest part of her dominion.

The Khān of Kalāt asserted and enjoyed for seven month and seven days, his ephemeral and unapplauded independence and in the end of March 1948, his melancholia for sovereignty vanished away and acceded to Pakistan.

1. "Pioneers of Progress", by A. L. P. Tucker, C.I.E. P. 61.
2. Ibid, P. 64.

CHAPTER IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KHANATE DYNASTY

Humanity is destined to sink beneath the yoke of fate by which all existence is determined and conditioned. World is a vast stage where everybody is timed to play his part gloriously or ingloriously and is heard no more. As is life, so is its end. None is void of care and strife. Whosoever enters this world is prone to subversion. Man's life is a continuous change, a great unrest, his glory lies in struggle—struggle for sublime things. Life of a race like the life of an individual never thrives in soft and servile course. The greater part of humanity prefer ease to exertion and seeks easy course of life-fall and disintegration. The glory of a few years matters but little in the immense space of eternity. As every ancient kingdom the world has witnessed, has triumphed, flourished and fallen, so fell the Rinds in Baluchistan. The paths of splendour lead but to the grave. As individual human beings are born, attain the age of majority and die, so states come into existence, obtain full international recognition, and cease to be. Doom has its own cracks, history its own freaks; every age has its own pecularities, dynasty succeeds dynasty and all the conquerors are conquered in turn. An eminent author writes, "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they."

After Ameer Chākar's departure from Sibi, his brother-in-law, Mandaw, the Ultimus Rind Chief, kept the governorship of Kalāt under his control for few decades. If one wishes for peace, he must prepare for war, for peace is the child of war. Mandaw's authority over Kalāt was completely paralysed by the disintegration of the Rind supremacy over the central Kalāt highland. He could neither avert the revolution hanging over his head nor could remain peacefully without the issue of a war. Step by step, the Rinds gained their motive and reached their climax. As every rise has a fall, they accordingly began to taste the pangs of deterioration which set in gradually but promisingly. The pomp and glitter of the Baluch kingdom had in it, the seeds of decay. A kingdom founded and fostered by the sword, is ultimately destined to perish and crumble by the same weapon. Anarchy reigned supreme and the central integrity receded and receded until its flickering candle was extinguished, never to flicker again. Constant quarrels like morainic glaciation began to undermine their granite foundation laid by Chākar and reconditioned by his master hand from time to time.

The Governorship of Mandaw exposed the Baluchi kingdom to the withering elements of the time—tottering, crumbling and diminishing to its lowest nadir. The golden prime of the Rind was lost. With their fall passed away the glory of Sibi, the metropolis. Almost every town of any consequence had at this time its own Baluch chief. The mushroom like rise and fall of numberless dynasties and quasi-dynasties in the heart of Rind capital were in themselves the grave symptoms of disintegration rather than the cause of it. The tranquility of the Rind principality at Kalāt, at

length, was invaded by those whom they vanquished few decades before. The Meerwānīs and Kambarānīs taking advantage of the general discontentment and posing themselves as future saviours of Baluchistan, championed their own cause. The Meerwānis, from whom the petty principality of Kalāt was seized by Chākar, were impatiently hunting for a proper chance to attack Mandaw Rind. When the time ripened, they in alliance with the Dehwār[1] allies encountered the Rind army near Kalāt. One of the fiercest battles unparalleled in the history of Baluchistan took place near old Kalāt fort. Like the swelling tide of the sea, the demons of rebellion poured near the Kalāti Fort. Five days were spent in partial engagements and then on the sixth came a general mellay. The entire Rind army broke and fled in utter rout. Mandaw died game and was burried in front of the fort. The defeat of Mandaw bundled out Baluchis out of Kalāt en tout and thus ended the drop scene in the tragic drama of the Rind supremacy in Baluchistan. The Meerwānis, it seems, never succeeded for long to cement their throne with the noble blood of the Baluchis-the Rinds. After this conflict, nearly for a period of eighty years, the central Kalāt highland was ruled by many short-lived alien and domestic dynasties which followed in thick and threefold, possessing territories of varying boundaries infested with intestine wars. The rule of these "do-nothing kings" varied from a few months to only few years, haloing either an epoch of political disturbance or confusion or a chain of reign improperly recorded.

The exact period of the first permanent Brahui ascendancy over Kalāt cannot be ascertained till we hear the name of Meer Ahmed II on the Kalāt masnad. Kambar is said to have extirpated the last Hindu ruler of Kalāt whose dynastic history is as obscure as that of Kambar. The last Hindu ruler of Kalāt "found himself compelled to call for the assistance of the mountain shepherds, with their leader, Kumbur, in order to check the encroachment of a horde of depredators, headed

1. The Dehwārs are a confused conglomeration of different tribes. Hence in origin they are very heterogenous people. Their origin has taken a controversial significance. The Brahuis hold them as an inferior race but their claim depends more on prejudice and sheer ignorance. It is because of this cause that there is a tendency among the Dehwārs to return themselves as Brahuis so as to gain superior social status. The name is compound of two words: (1) 'Deh' (land or soil) and (2) 'Wār' (owner), meaning land-owners. It has the same significance as the Persian word 'Dehqān' used for cultivators. Thus one cannot reach any conclusion about their origin merely by following the name of the tribe. The name shows a professional significance—a descriptive one rather than racial one. They speak a Persian language rustica of a bastard Persian which clearly throws light as to their origin being either Afghans or Persians. Various tribal names definitely show a stronger Afghan infusion as for instance, Zarkhel, Yusafzai and Khwajakhel, etc., etc., who are Afghan tribes of the Durrani Section. Prior to the Kurt invasion of Mastung in 652 A.H. they migrated from Kandahār province to Mastung and settled there permanently as peaceful cultivators. They were in no sense militaristic either in their inception or in their development. In course of time, they were Brahuised adopting the Brahui language, abandoning their own language 'Pashtu'. Hotizai are of Baluch stock while Saulai claim affinity with the Brahui race. The partiality of the Dehwār for a life of peaceful occupation has always rendered him to obey law and order. It has, however, made him a feeble soldier. In the Khānate chronicles, the word Dehwār is used in an uncomplimentary sense to denote a peaceful man, a mere civilian.

The Dehwārs of Dizak hold that they were the remnants of the settled Tājik population which at one time occupied the Khārān district. The anthropometrical measurements of the Dehwārs in the Kalāt state were as follows:
Average cephalic index—81.7.
Average nasal index—74.3.
Average stature index—164.2.
Average orbits nasal—118.

by an Afghan chief, who infested the country, and even threatened to attack the seat of government. Kumbur successfully performed the service for which he had been engaged . . . he formally deposed the rajah and assumed the government[1]." Meer Ahmad II is most probably the fourth in descent from Kambar. Pottinger also narrates the above story and describes Sehwa as the last Hindu ruler of Kalāt who was ousted from the throne. Masson states that Sehrais, a Mohammadan family, ruled Kalāt and they were displaced by the Sewah, a Hindu tribe. The above authors have not ascertained the date of these changes. All accounts are traditional and so entitled to scant credit.

Meer Ahmad, the founder of the dynasty

There arose a man, like a bolt from the blues, from the humble stock of Kambarānī branch of the Brahuis, from whom the prime and ancient right of lineal succession to the throne of Kalāt was invested to the proud family of the Ahmadzais, here unto. This man was Meer Ahmad II who ruled Kalāt Niābat most probably in 1026 A.H. The Ahmadzais are the descendants of Ra'īs Ahmad I, a most noble family whose tree ramifies through a space of nearly four hundred years.

Meer Ahmad was the man who was to rap upon the mysterious door of destiny and rule an ignored territory. The former found it possible to carve out, with his own sword, a kingdom out of the ultimate atrophy of the unwieldly kingdom of the various dynasties. The then Baluchistan was clouded with disturbances whence he occupied the vacant throne of Kalāt. The period of Brahui hegemony in Baluchistan had begun. The space left in the pages of the Baluchistan history was destined to be filled by his descendants later on. Whereupon the royal insignia of the Rind kingdom passed from the Baluch hands to that of the Brahuis, who timely saved the country from drifting towards further destruction by tribal dissensions and court intrigues. The Brahuis shone upon Baluchistan when Rinds were reduced and the native court of all the Baluch chiefships were at its most debased. The country embarked upon a new course of history after the domination of the Brahuis. It should be well remarked that in future what happened in Kalāt, happened generally in the whole of Baluchistan. The death of Mandaw kindled the disruptive forces always ready to operate in the central Kalāt highland. All the medley of petty chiefships, with varying boundaries were united by Ameer Ahmad merely by force of sword than by show of art or diplomacy. His were the first hammer-strokes under which all the then neighbouring principalities of Kalāt highlands were destined to shatter away. He struggled hotly, till his death, against adverse circumstances which always happen to a man rising from a private station to that of a ruler. "He who is born in the purple," writes the distinguished historian Gibbon, "is seldom worthy to reign, but the elevation of a private man, of a peasant perhaps, or a slave affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity".

The dynastic history of the Ahmadzai Khans[2] rests mainly on the lists and

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. III, 9th edition, P. 300.

2. Before the light of ascertained history the early ancestors of the Ahmadzai dynasty were known as Raīs. From Khan 'Abdullah Khan till now they are styled as Khān, Meer or Ameer and their dynasty is addressed as the Khāns of Kalāt. The word Ameer is an Arabic word,

(*Continued foot note on page 78*)

fragments preserved by the royal house. The events portrayed here are crowded and rapid as those of a drama. Before the beginning of the 18th century, the position of Ahmadzai Khāns was little more than that of a tribal chief. From Ameer Ahmad II, till the rule of Khān 'Abdullah Khan, nearly five puppet chiefs of the Ahmadzai passed with practically no power beyond twenty or thirty miles from Kalāt proper. They were simply successful marauders on a large scale. Properly speaking, they were a set of chiefs whose names are either buried in the obscurity of their talents or brought into light by the excess of their tyrannies. In the first half of the 18th century, in the time of Nādir Shāh of Persia, the Khānate family came into prominence and shared in the political changes of the country. The Political boundaries of Baluchistan were first chalked out by Nādir Shah who constituted it a separate government. The term Baluch has been loosely employed to include all the residents in the country and all the Brahuis and their rulers have been generally alluded to in history as Baluch and head of the Baluch confederacy.

In the middle of the 18th century, the Kalhorah rulers of Sind pressed the Khānate dominion hard on one side and still harder by the Durrānī suzerains of Kandahār. It was left to the choice of the Khān to select either of the two as his ally. He preferred to cement his relations with the Kandahār ruler. In the 18th century, the most brilliant chapter of the Brahui reign begins. Previous to the Durrānī rule, Persia was the fountain-head of all power of the Kalāt State. When the seat of over-lordship shifted from the tops of Isfahān to the fertile plains of Kandahār, Kalāt

(Continued foot note from page 77)

meaning leader or commander. In Latin it was written as Amiratus Amiralius (whence the word admiral). In Persian language pronunciation often abbreviated to Meer. Under the Saljukides the chief Ameer was styled as Ameer-i-Ameerān or Malik-ul-Umarā. The pious caliphs of Islām bore the title Ameer-ul-Mominīn (commander of the Faithful). The 'Abbāside Caliphs followed their example. The use of the word is similar to that of the English word "Lord", sometimes depicting office, as in Ameer ulahghal (minister of finance) under the Almohades (cf. "lord of the treasury"). It was not till the fall of Baghdād (656 A.H.—1258 A.D.) that the petty rulers in the East ventured also to style themselves Ameer-ul-Mominīn. The Almoravids in the west recognized the supremacy of the 'Abbāside caliphs and so they contented themselves with the title of Ameer-ul-Muslimīn. The Sherifs of Morocco and the Sultans of Turkey were also styled Ameer-ul-Mominīn. The title of Ameer was used by the Afghān and central Asiatic rulers. Timur, the great, was commonly known among his people by the epithet 'Ameer' and the former recognized it as his privileged title (See Tuzuk-i-Timurī, attached with Qābūs Nāma, This title was also borrowed by the Tālpur rulers of Sind. Today every Baluch of fame and name is styled as Meer. The title Khān was used by the Mongol rulers who were addressed in history as the 'Great Khāns' of Mongolia. The word Khan is a Mongolic or Turkish word. It was used by the various petty Turkish rulers who ruled central Asia, Afghānistān and parts of Baluchistān. The word 'Khān' has more dignity than the Turkish equivalent 'Beg'. The Ottoman Turks termed 'Beg' as bey, kirghiz bī or biy. 'Beg' was used for any noble man, in opposition to the common people. Ameer Shujā-ud-Dīn Zunnūn, the Arghūn, was the descendant of Ameer Arghūn Beg who held the government of Irān-Zamīn, and died at Tūs in 673 A.H. (1274-75 A.D.). Had these Arghūns been descended from Arghūn Khān, son of Abkae Khan, son of Hulāgu Khān, grand-son of the Great Chengiz Khan, they would have been honoured by Bābar who held them in great contempt. (See Tuzik-e-Bābari). Shāh Beg Arghūn's brother Mohammad Mokīm son of Zunnūn married the daughter of Bābar's uncle son of Ulugh Beg, consequently Bābar became the enemy of the Arghūns. Bābar always styled the Arghūns, Beg instead of Khān. In Turkish language the "Prince" of a small tribe or community is called 'Beg' in apposition to the Kaghan, or Khan, the ruler of a larger dominion. The word Beg is applied to any position gained from a ruler or by election or by usurpation. It was used among the Military ranks as for example ulus-begi, tumān-begi, min-begi, Juz-begi and on-begi. Among the Ottoman Turks every son of a Pāshā was entitled to bear the title 'Beg'. In former times the chief governors of Roumelia, Anatolia and Syria bore the title begler-beg (beyler beyi) which was equivalent to Arabic Ameer-ul-Umarā, Persian Meer-e-Meerān and of the Moghuls of India Khān-e-Khānān.

automatically according to circumstances changed its supreme lord. Later on, subsequent to the collapse of the Durrānī kingdom, the Kalāt state asserted its own independence. The then capital of Baluchistan, Kalāt, owing to its great significance and being the centre of trade and commerce, rivalled in grandeur, the Kalhorah and Afghān Courts at Hyderābād and Kandahār respectively.

Historic role by 'Abdullah Khan

'Abdullah Khan ascended on the chiefship, probably in 1713 A.D. (1128-44A.H.) and he is the first chief of the Ahmadzai branch of the Brahuis who comes under the light of positive history. His histrionical role over Kalāt is a record of controversial statements furnishing a good fiction than an actual history. All the events from 'Abdullah Khan's ascendency to power till the succession of Naseer Khan I, from 1126 A.H.—1153 (1713 A.D.-1740) are tentative and traditional. A sad muddle has been made of the Brahui history. The whole life of the early rulers is a perpetual comparison of evidence and balancing of probabilities. The accounts of the British chroniclers are inconsummate and contradictory to the contemporary and eye-witness records like that of Nādir's own secretary's account. History calls for evidence when antecedent probabilities fail. The claim whether 'Abdullah Khan held sway over Kalāt proper or not is also a controversial matter, a problem which will be dealt with, hereafter, during Mohabat Khan's chiefship. "All accounts (of the Brahuis)", states Pottinger, "are traditional, and entitled to little credit" and "all is obscure up to the time of the fourth in descent from Kambar, and, further, that these, even, are "very meagre." 'Abdullah Khan as it appears from various sources was the chief or Zamīndār of Gandāwa and its immediate neighbourhood. It was during his chiefship that the Ghilzai invasion of Persia took place. Mahmūd, the Ghilzai, had many Baluchis in his army when he invaded Kirmān. Nadīr Shāh defeated Ashraf Ghilzai in 1143 A.H. and the latter was killed by Ibrāhīm Khan son of 'Abdullah Khan Baluch near Seistān while on his attempt to reach Kandahār safely.

The contemporary Baluch ballads speaks of 'Abdullah Khan as an inexorable tyrant evading from laws and arguments. He is said to have addressed himself as "the Royal Eagle of Kohistān." His sword constantly fell on the neighbouring territories of the Kalhorah dominion. Miān Nūr Muhammad surnamed Khudāyār Khan and titled by Nādir Shāh of Persia as Shah Kuli Khan ascended on the throne of Sind in 1718 A.D. (1131 A.H.). In 1729 A.D. he sent his general Murād Kaleri to subjugate the Sīwī (Sibi) and curb the power of the neigh bouring tribal chiefs, Kaisar Khan Magassī; the land-lords of Gandāwa; Miru Kodri Rind; the chief of Shorān; the chief of Sīwī; Miro Buledi, theheadman of Dhādhar and the neighbouring mountain chiefs. In 1730 A.D. this Kalhorah chief started hostilities with 'Abdullah Khan. He marched and usurped the fort of Kartah (Kirtha) from Mubārak Khan where 'Ism'aīl Khan Brahui was defeated and Kākar Brahui was killed. Some of the Brahui forces retreated, but the retreat became a rout, the rout a massacre. After these skirmishes, 'Abdullah Khan concluded peace with Miān Nūr Muhammad and confirmed it by giving his two daughters in marriage to Mīan's two sons. In 1731 A.D. (1144 A.H.) a formidable force of the Brahuis violating the previous treaty, attacked the neighbouring district

of Kachhah (Kachhi) then under the Kalhorah rule. The said district was plundered from village to village and the haves and the have-nots were alike overwhelmed with ruin. Roused by these outrageous crimes and catastrophies, Miān Nūr Muhammad to combat a outrance, personally commanded his army and encamped at Lādkānah (Lārkanā) from where, he despatched his army under his choicest general to fell on 'Abdullah Khan then commanding the Brahuis. At Jandehar[1], the hostile forces met front a front in a bloody encounter. After a severe clash of arms, the Brahui vigour melted away, and the day ended in their complete disaster; the bulk of their forces showed their heels and their chief met a soldier's death[2].

Later on, as it appear, Nādir Shah confirmed the Kachhi district to the son and successor of 'Abdullah Khan as the blood feud of his father. The author of "M'aāsir-ul-Umarā", anecdotes the above event that "Abdullah Khan Barohi, the Zemīndār of Kalāt, which is a strong fortress situated between Sind and Kandahār, was in the constant habit of ravaging the territory ruled by the Lāti, Khudāyār Khan and used every year to levy contributions thereon. In the year 1143 A.H. (1730-31 A.D.), the twelfth of the reign of Muhammad Shah Badshah, Khudāyār Khan prepared to fight against 'Abdullah Khan, Barohi, and started from his native place and capital, Khudabad. A severe engagement ensued in which 'Abdullah Khan Barohi was killed and his forces overthrown".

In 1732 A.D. (1145 A.H.) Muhammad Murādyāb Khan left for Khiār and Wankār with his nobles and solemnized his marriage with a daughter of Murād 'Ali Khan, a cousin of 'Abdullah Khan Brahui and the year following, his second son, Khudādād Khan, likewise, espoused a daughter of one of the kinsman of 'Abdullah Khan. The matrimonial links sealed the future friendship of the Kalhorah and Brahui chiefs.

Mohabat Khan

We receive no authentic information with regard to the date of his ascendence on the chiefship of either Gandāwa or Kalāt. The usual gloom prevails over his life and times. The faint glooming over the Baluchistan's political sky lightens when we recollect the Ghilzai invasion of Baluchistan. In the year 1730-31 A.D. Nādir Shāh marched out of Meshad against the Abdālīs of Herāt. The former had sent his messanger 'Abdul Mumin Khan to 'Abdullah Khan, to ask him to make a demonstration towards Kandahār. At this Juncture, Kalāt, Mastung and Shāl (Quetta) were under the dependency of the Safawi province of Kandahār. Shāh Hussain, the Ghilzai king of Kandahār, brother of Shah Mahmūd Ghilzai, determined to conquer the despotism of the Kalāt chief Mehrāb Khan[1] styled as the "Sardar of the whole of the Baluchis

1. Masson states the fight to have taken place at Jandrīr between Dādār and Mithrī, while Pottinger states Khānpur. Both the places are near Gandāwā some twelve miles distance from each other.
2. 'History of Sind', by Mirza Kalich Beg Fredun Beg, pp. 146-147; "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan", by Raverty, pp. 610-611. See also Tate's history of the Ahmadzai Khans of Kalāt.

1. We know nothing about Mehrāb Khan's life and times. It seems from the above passage that neither 'Abdullah Khan Brahui nor his son and successor Mohabat Khan held sway over Kalāt. Mehrāb Khān (1107-99 A.H.) according to the genealogical tree of the Khāns of Kalāt is the father of 'Abdullah Khan but it seems to be too strange that after the death of 'Abdullah Khan in the end of 1731 A.D. we should believe his father, Mehrāb Khān, holding sway over Kalāt, and, Moreover, we notice Nādir Shah in contact with 'Abdullah Khan and not with his father, Mehrāb Khān, if ever, he ruled Kalāt.

of that part" (Kalāt), who had lately encroached upon the Afghān district of Shāl and Mastung. Shāh Ḥussain started from Kandahār in the beginning of 1145 A.H. (June or July 1733 A.D.) with an army consisting of Afghāns and Hazārās. He entered Baluchistan via Khojak pass and Shāl through Kotal-i-Gaz (Gazaband Pass). He laid siege to the presidial fort of Shāl. The Baluchis under their leader Sālār Khan made two simultaneous sallies on the Afghān forces but they proved no match for the hardy enemy troops. In the dead of night, in a Parthian fight, the Baluchis, prescient of the grave situation, evacuated the Shāl fort and left for Mastung and Kalāt. The Ghilzai invader occupied the fort and garrisoned it with 500 foot Jazāir-chis, and a body of 200 horse, commanded by Sherdil Khan and himself marched towards Mastung and entered the town in triumph. The Baluchis already abandoned the place and fled towards Kachhi, Gandawā and Kalāt. The capture of Mastung was soon followed by the capture of Kalāt by the Ghilzai commander, Asadullah Khan, Ishākzai Hotaki. The chronicler further states, that, "when the flying Baluchis reached Kalāt, which is the chief place, and seat of authority of these people, Mehrāb Khan, who is the Sardar of all the Baluchis, tendered his submission, and sought terms of accommodation, accompanied with offerings of horses and other presents. Sher Khan, Baluch, Hākim of Nushki, and Mohabat Khan of Ganjāwah, also, submitted and tendered their allegiance. The former (as Sardar of all the Baluchis of these parts) agreed to the terms offered him, whereby he acknowledged his allegiance to Shāh Hussain, and stipulated to restore the cattle carried off from Pushang and Shora'h-bak; to make good the losses sustained by the people of Shāl; to furnish a contingent of 5,000 men however the sovereign of Kandahār required troops ; and to give up some chiefs as hostages for the performance of these terms. This ratified, Shāh Hussain returned to Kandahār, taking five chiefs along with him as hostages, according to the terms agreed upon".

Mohabat Khan was confirmed in his father's fief by Nādir Shāh in 1731 A.D two years before Shāh Hussain's invasion of Kalāt and Shāl. As aforesaid, Abdul Mumin Khan, Nādir's agent, came to 'Abdullah Khan who was killed in the battle against the Kalhorahs. Nādir's agent returned to Herāt, "bringing along with him Mohabat and Iltāz, the two sons of late 'Abdullah Khān, and bearing offers on the part of the Baluch chiefs and tribes". It clearly indicates Mohabat Khan's authority over Gandāwa and not over Kalāt and its dependencies as stated above. In 1148 A. H. (April 1736 A.D.), Nādir reveling in his heroic deeds, despatched from Kandahār Pīr Muhammad Khan to outscorn the power of Khārān and Nushki chief, Sher Khan, who in 1145 A.H. (June-July 1733 A.D.) submitted to Shāh Hussain Ghilzai. On the 3rd of Muharram, the first month of 1150 A.H. (22nd of April, 1737 A.D.), Mohabat Khan and Iltāz, the twin sons of 'Abdullah Khan again arrived in Nādir's camp, at Kandahār, where they were cordially treated and received robes of honour. Immediately after this, according to "Nādir Nāmeh", Nadir Shāh, "confirmed Mohabat Khan in the rule over that part of the Baluchistan, which his father had previously exercised."

In 1152 A.H. (1739-40 A.D.) Nadir Shāh subdivided Sind into three portions. (1) The district of Thathah with its dependencies were conferred upon Nūr Muhammad

Kalhorah ; (2) The upper Sind west of the Indus Shikārpur, Lārkāna, Siwistān to Da'ūd potah chief (the Bahawalpur ruler); (3) The hilly part of the country—the districts and towns adjoining Baluchistan on the east—namely the entire Kachhi district in addition to the western part of Sind to Mohabat Khan Brahui. On the 13th of Muharram, the first month of 1153 A.H. (end of March, 1740 A.D.) Nādir Shāh started from Lārkānā for Kandahār via Dhādhar, Sīwī, Shāl and the Khojak Pass, and the above places were added to the dependencies of the Kandahār province. Mohabat Khan, most probably, subdued Kalāt and its neighbouring highlands soon after the Persian conquerors departure from Baluchistan and Kandahār.

Nādir reached Kandahār on the 7th April 1740 A.D. and on the 12th of the same month, satiated with glory, and laden with oriental spoils set on to Herat. It seems, however, that when Nādir was at Herāt, Mohabat Khan supped all his porridge in the sunset of his days. This was the end of the year 1740. He is reported to have yielded himself to tyranny and luxury. The subjects were burdened with inhumane taxes, thus a general discontentment arose against him in his later days.

Naseer Khan's rule and National unification

We cannot fix the exact date of Naseer Khan's incontestable ascendency over the Kalāt chiefship. In all probability, he assumed the throne in 1741 A.D. All the British chroniclers, namely Masson, Pottinger, Hughes, Elphinston, MacGregor and Leech differ from each other on principal events and dates. The events portrayed by these chroniclers, however, are fascinating if not factual. Masson alleges Naseer Khan of having killed his brother Iltāz and so asserts MacGregor[1]. "Eltaz and his younger brother, Nasir," states Masson, "were hostages for Mohabat Khan of Kalāt, with Ahmad Shah at Kandahar", arguing further that this accident occurred because "Mohabat" raided a place near "Kandahar", and Ahmad Shāh (who had now become ruler of the Afghan kingdom) concomitantly ravaged "Sahārawān" and carried off Eltarz and Nasīr as hostages, and that "Mohabat" was summoned to "Kandahār", where he was confined, and his brother, "Nasir", was commissioned to "Kalāt", in his place; and that "Mohabat" died in confinement. Masson's statement appears to be doubtful and unconsidered. According to him Mohabat Khan died after Ahmad Shāh's ascendency to power, say after 1749 A.D. Nādir Shāh was assassinated on the 15th of the sixth month 1160 A.H. (June, 1747 A.D.). Ahmad Shāh, immediately, after his Afshār Master's death carved out an empire. Unanimous opinion of all the historians of Ahmad Shāh's reign agree that the latter in 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.), to settle the disturbed affairs of Multān marched through Thal or Chul-i-Jalāli of the Sind—Sāgar Doābah to Derā Ghāzi Khan, and from their to Kalāt for the first time where already the chief was Naseer Khan.

Raverty even doubts that whether Naseer Khan was brother of Mohabat Khan or not. He contends when 'Abdul Mumin Khan, the agent of Nādir brought the two sons of 'Abdullah Khan, Eltāz and Mohabat Khan to Nādir, why not Naseer, the

1. 'Central Asia', by MacGregor, part III, P. 43.

third son was not brought to him, if at all 'Abdullah Khan had three sons[1]. To this objection, it can be fairly asserted that Naseer might have been the youngest son, then a minor when his twin elder brothers were taken to the Afshār conqueror. Pottinger asserts that "Nasir Khan murdered his elder brother"[2], and boasted that he did it mainly for the welfare of his country. "When Nadir died in 1747", continues the same chronicler, "he (Nasīr Khan) acknowledged the title of Ahmad Shāh. In doing so he did not consider himself tributary to that monarch, but rather as an inferior participator in the division of Nadir's empire———". He, too, misappre hensively acknowledges Naseer Khan as the ruler of Kalāt long before Nādir's assassination. "Mohubbat Khaun, whom Naudir had fixed", states another historian, "in the government had died, and was succeeded by his brother, Haujee Khaun. That chief appears to have disgusted his subjects by his tyranny, and offended Ahmed Shauh by taking part in Lokmaun Khaun's rebellion. It is certain, that he was deposed and imprisoned by means of Ahmed Shauh, and that Nusseer Khaun, his brother, succeeded him in the government; It is not known what induced Nusseer Khaun to throw off his dependence on the Dooraunee government; but he declared himself independent in the year 1758"[3]. Here, too, Pottinger and Elphinston do not agree. The one puts Naseer Khan before Nādir's death, the other after the ascendency of Ahmad Shāh. The statement of Elphinstone needs to be grossly condemned. Haji Khan is the son of Mohabat Khan and not his brother[4]. It is probable that Haji Khan might have succeeded his father's fief for few months but we have to depend on concoction rather on ascertained dates or events. Nādir, few years before his assassination, confirmedNaseer Khan on the throne of Kalāt, with the title of Begler Begi[5].

Meer AhmedII introduced his line to the glory and luxuries of purple, 'Abdullah Khan planted the Brahui hegemony and Naseer carved out the Brahui state on firm basis. The latter's royal seal bore the insignia:

جسی اللهونعم الوکیل ونعم المولٰی ونعم النصیر

In the latter part of his reign he changed it:

چولطف خدادستگیر من است

محمد براعدا نصیر من است

Soon after Nādir's death, the Afghan hawk, Ahmad Shah, watched jealously the Kalāt affairs. Jealously in the political sense too is the apprehension of superiority.

1. 'Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan', foot note, p. 616.

2. There is no proof of Naseer, as to his having assassinated his brother. The author has been personally in the court of the present Khān for a considerable time and no such evidence has been found in the old records. All the past records of the Khanāte family absolutely throw no light on the allegation put against Naseer Khan whose character as a staunch muslim will faintly be imagined to have exposed the man to such an heinous act., though such things occurred and are common amongst the Asiatic races especially semicivilized race like the Brahuis.

3. Elphinstone, Vol. II, p. 346.

4. See the genealogical tree of the Khāns of Kalāt in the book "List of leading personage in Baluchistan".

5. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. III, ninth edition, p. 300; see 'Persia and Persian question", by G. N. Curzon, Vol. II, p. 255.

We find, later on, Naseer Khan and Ahmad Shah as earnest allies helping each other on turning points of history. Naseer's policy of uniting the Baluch tribes, consolidated his power to an extent, that in 1758 he declared himself entirely independent. Ahmad Shah to assert his prestige, mustered his forces to battle with the rising star of Naseer Khan. Fortune friends the bold. After a sanguinary war both sides suffered heavy losses; Ahmad Shah accepted the terms offered by the Kalāt ruler. The district of Mastung was resigned to Naseer who became in future quite independent but in name. The conciliating policy of the Afghan king ended into a regular treaty between the former and Naseer and one condition stipulated that neither Naseer Khan nor his successors should ever be called upon to interfere, or to help, in the settlement of the internal dissensions of the Afghans[1].

His policy of uniting all the heterogeneous Baluch tribes into an organic whole and contenting them to be loyal always to the rulers of Kalāt, attributes much credit to his astuteness and political acumen. To feel that these tribes at the time of a perilous incursion from the neighbouring states will act as a bulwark against them, is all the more creditable.

His early life was full of dangers and crosses but in his later years, he attained what he desired. Naseer 'The Great' maintained a well disciplined and highly organised feudal army collected from various districts and tribes. He was indeed great in the thorough sense of the word. It was he under whom the Brahui power reached its meredian. Many victories blossomed on his sword and spear. In his time, Kalāt State reached its greatest expansion stretching in length from the frontiers of Seistān to the plains of Derājāt territory. One by one, all the tribes and territories of Baluchistan fell under the paws of this Brahui lion. Practically on the north eastern side, his territory embraced the district of Derā Ghāzī Khan and the waves of the Arabian sea roared along the southern boundary of the Kalāti dominion. The Marri and Bugti countries were only nominal tributaries to the Khān. Makurān and Khārān were added at the cost of tremendous Brahui blood and treasure. As Cato (234—149 B.C.) after a visit to Carthage during which he noticed its prosperity, strength and wealth remarked in the Senate 'Delenda est Carthago', similarly Naseer Khan after visiting Makurān uttered 'Makurān must be conquered', and so he did. The Makurānīs obstinately resisted his arms and a war of extermination followed, culminating in a victory for Naseer, and, henceforth, for two centuries Makurān formed a jewel in the Brahui crown. Throughout his life Naseer fought for name, fame and power. He was the great aggrandiser of his line. Las-Bela was annexed by a treaty with Jām Miān Khan to whom a little later, Naseer, in order to ratify the partonage of Las-Bela State, gave his daughter in marriage, a policy which promoted amicable relations between each other, and thus, he became the Caesar of whole Baluchistan.

Re-organisation of army and his military achievements

He never betrayed the confidence of his ally, Ahmad Shah Durrānī, the champion of orthodox iconoclastic Islam of the 18th century, and proved himself a worthy friend in supplying him with superabundance of men and material in all

1. Malcolm's, 'History of Persia', edited by Lt.-Colonel M. H. Court, p. 84.

his military compaigns resulting in several victories. The flashing victory of Ahmad Shah over the Persians at Meshad[1] in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) was much indebted to the heroic role of the Baluch sword under Naseer who repulsed and vanquished the truculent foe under the walls of the devoted city. In the battle of Pānipat in 1761, the Baluch valour played its part marvellously. The Baluch forces were mainly instrumental in winning nearly all the victories for the Durrānī hero. The above invaluable services are referred to in a Sanad bestowed upon him by Ahmad Shah. Consequently, he was bestowed upon the town of Shāl (Quetta) and many other places as a reward for his assistance rendered to the Afghan king. According to the treaty of 1758 A.D. between Ahmad Shah and Naseer, it was mutually agreed that the latter should not pay any tribute to the former but should furnish a contingent of troops at his own cost when demanded by the former.

Naseer welded his recovered territories into a compact dominion and divided his kingdom into the following four political units:—

(1) Sārāwān which comprised of the plateau commencing from Nushki up to Sibī finally emerging into Kachhī district. The tribal area of Marri and Bugti were linked with this division; Sārāwānian wing of the army composed of men from these districts.

(2) Jhālāwān (lowland) stretching from Sūrāb to the boundaries of Las Bela.

(3) Makurān which was under the chiefship of the Gichki family on behalf of the Khān.

(4) Kachhī formed the most productive part of his kingdom and the chief source of his income. The Kachhī province extended upto Harrand-Dājjal which was given to him by Timur Shah son of Ahmad Shah in return for his assistance in the third battle of Panīpat against the Mahrattas.

Status of tribal chiefs

The powers of the Sardars or feudal lords were limited in his time. They held a consultative position in matters of importance and in deciding tribal cases. They were as a sort of conciliatory commission. Their duty was that of an arbiter of peace between contending parties. In case they failed, the matter was referred to the Khān—the supreme power—who in turn forwarded it to the Qāzī-a-Quzzāt (the chief judge) for final decision. Such was the position of the Sardars in criminal cases while civil cases were directly dealt with by the Qāzī. The Khān was the Court of Appeal in all matters concerning the tribes of the conquered areas. The Sardars (tribal chiefs) were given jāgīrs by the Crown and consequently they supplied the sovereign with men and material in emergencies. Failing to produce specified quota of men, their Jāgīrs were confiscated. Regarding internal affairs, the Khān acted quite independently in making laws and various other changes in administrative sphere. While in his dealings with external matters, the feudal lords acted as a sort of Advisory Council. In his last days, for the first time in the history of the land, the tribal chiefs were appointed through general election by the headmen. Seniority in age and personal distinction were the deciding factors in nominating the chiefs.

1. 'The Encyclopaedia of Islam' edited by M. Th. Houtsma, Arnold, Vol. I, p. 203.

The revenue of his kingdom are said to have exceeded forty lakhs of rupees which sufficed for the army and public works. A negligible balance was placed in reserve. His audible generosity left only few lakhs of rupees after his death in the central treasury for his successor to start with the machine of the state.

His glory

After the complete conquest of the soil, Naseer desired to conquer the soul of his countrymen. He constructed a network of roads and raised mosques and caravan 'sarais' in the important centres of the kingdom. Inspite of the centrifugal tendencies of the tribes, he with his indefatigable zeal and activity combined with invincible tenacity and systematised efforts, as if by magic, established peace and tranquillity in the country within a short time. Sedulously he strove hard to model into one national mould all the heterogeneous elements, namely Baluchis, Brahuis, Jats, Dehwārs and Pathāns in the country by initiating diligent movements which made Kalāt, for a contracted span, the nerve-centre of the Baluch-Brahui Culture. Day after day he revised the details of administration. Within the first two years of his rule, he united the wild and priest-stricken clans of Baluchistan into one 'confederacy'. Far and wide his keen and sharp eyes commanded the vistas of great significance in the national life of the people.

The Naseerian flag hoisted triumphantly on the Kalāt Fort without a rival in Baluchistan to challenge its magnanimity and integrity. His time can be decidedly called the Augustan age of the Khānate and his regime the clima of Brahui history. He initiated a remarkable career of victory which his unworthy successor left incomplete. The race obeyed his call, rallied round the sovereign and enabled him to quell the disaffected minority whenever it was needed. All the people, the races and the languages of Baluchistan fell down before his honour for homage. Fate ever helped him to terminate the evil, and to diadem the right. Greatness seldom comes to an individual and it survives only in noble deeds.

'If we contemplate the character of Nasir Khan', writes Pottinger, "Whether as a soldier, a statesman or a prince, and call to mind the people among whom he was replaced, we shall find in him a most extraordinary combination of all the virtues attached to those stations and duties. He began his career under the odium of having put his own brother to death, and yet such were the pangs he suffered when he had leisure to reflect on that act, and that even his enemies pitied him and his conduct throughout life proved that he believed it to be a duty incumbent upon him to sacrifice his brother in order to save his country. He could not have been dazzled by the hopes of wealth, as he never lived in any better style than his attendants when in the field and showed a total disregard to riches except as the means of rewarding merit and improving the condition of his subjects. He seldom made presents in money, and frequently said that by doing so he encouraged idleness. But when any artisan brought him a specimen of his handiwork, he would order him ten or twelve times the value of it in cloth and other necessities. As a statesman he reconciled to his authority a few months an immense kingdom bestowed upon him by a cruel conqueror. What proves his address, was that the most distant districts were always equally alert in obeying his orders with those near at hand. His justice and equitable discharge of his duties as a prince were so conspicuous that his name became, and is till, a prover-

bial phrase among his immediate countrymen and all classes of the population of Baluchistan on the extreme west. In short had Nasir Khan governed an enlightened nation, or one with which Europeans were later acquainted, he would, during his life, have been regarded as a phenomenon among the Asiatic princes. He was liberal, brave, just, forgiving, patient under adversity and distress. And so strict was his veracity that he was never known to break, or even attempt to evade, the most trivial promises[1]'. He was the greatest living force of his time, a stalwart arsenal of truth and justice and was famous as a Saint (*Wali*). His character was as noble as it was commanding. Even today Kalātīs visit his tomb at Kalāt and take dust from his grave as some souvenir of the most extraordinary man of Baluchistan. He was a multipotent ruler who overcame his sensuality by mortification, fraility by volition, cupidity by almsdeed, wrath by meekness, tepidity by consecration, and despondency by diligence. His personal qualities were superb: his sense of justice, wisdom, purity of personal character, generosity and indefatigable thoroughness were a proverb. Much credit should be accredited to the mother of Naseer in the formation of the latter's enchanting personality. She, it is said, never gave milk to her young babe, Naseer, without previously performing ablution. It is recorded that once Naseer then hardly a year old was weaping whence a concubine attended the babe and gave milk from her breast. Immediately, Naseer's mother perceived the mischief and got annoyed with the concubine. She then turned the babe upside down for a long time and made him vomit all the milk by putting fingers of her hand into the babe's mouth. Subsequently, when blood came from the babe's mouth then she turned him over. Naseer's distinctive character sets before one of those uncommon examples in the history in which the temporal grandeur contented with the priestly. Of all the romantic figures thrown up by the Baluchistan's history, he was undoubtedly one of the most striking figures. He is not only renowned in Baluchistan's history as a great warrior, but also as a great diplomat, great as a social reformer, great as a statesman and great as a state builder. Others reaped what he sowed.

Never before the Kalātī kingdom was so triumphant and Kalāt (the Capital) so rich and prosperous. All this was achieved through the talent of one man who bade farewell to his people over whom he exercised commanding influence till death, leaving behind a document—a sacred document of one of the most genial of men for his descendants to follow the policy which made him successful and caused him to be remembered so long as Baluchistan remains on the surface of the globe. If the then Political Baluchistan had been in close touch with the contemporary India, Naseer Khan deserved irrefragably a prominent place for his beneficience and administrative achievements in those golden pages of Indian history which are still commemorated as the Red-letter days of the Indian National History. Sufficiently old, in the month of June 1795, Naseer, amidst the clouds of his omnipotence shuffled off this mortal coil at Kalāt leaving three sons and five daughters. He was succeeded by his son Mahmūd Khan I, then a boy of about fourteen years to the Khānate Masnad in 1208 A.H.

1. "The country of Baluchistan" by A. W. Hughes, pp. 188-189.

After the death of Naseer Khan, his cousin usurped the Masnad, but Shāhzamān Badshah, grandson of Ahmad Shah intervened and "Commanded that the eldest son, Mīr Mahmūd, should be installed therein; and he despatched a force along with him to enforce his Commands. Mīr Mahmūd was installed; and the Khutbah was read for the Durrānī sovereign, and money stamped with his name, as had been the Custom heretofore[1]". Though by name Mahmūd (praised), he was never praised by any one. His signet ring bore the verse:— الٰہی عاقبت محمود گردان

Mahmud Khan's rule

Naseer had been hardly a year in his grave before the whole achievements of his life were in destruction and oblivion. His successor was a man who passed his life in complete debauchery. Prone to ease, he avoided labour and exertion, an incarnation of sensuality, a mixture of meekness and uxoriousness, just a paridel. So swift an acquisition of so vast a dominion by Naseer was followed immediately by a weak successor neither having the courage nor the statesmanship of his father. He soon proved himself to be a reckless ruler. Probably he was the worst king Kalāt ever had. Mahmūd Khan was a confounded farrago of doubts, fears, hopes, ambitions and all the flimsy furniture of a suspicious ruler. He spent his time in complete ignominy and maintained a life-work in direct contradiction to the principles which his illustrious father upheld,—a ruler to whom the epithet 'worthless' seems best. Rulers in pleasure are rulers in distress. He had all the vices which his father could not bear to see among the common people. The characteristic vices of a weak ruler especially those indulging in wine, women and music, seized upon the son of such a great father. Well trained in the affairs of the heart, was in fact a true Sybarite. Numerous are the stories told of his luxuries and gay parties. He imported many slave girls from Sind and Makurān. His court became the rendezvous of poets and paramours who intonated their voices with stringed instruments in serenades. So widely spread the cultivation of social intercourses and musical arts, that it provided a favourite ground for active propaganda to his adversaries to shake off the Naseerian structure previously laid with great care. He made a treaty with Meer Ghulām 'Alī Khan Tālpur. At the same time a matrimonial contract was patched up, by which *Māi* Zainab gave the hand of her niece to Meer Ghulām 'Alī Khan. More than forty thousand men assembled on the occasion and the marriage was celebrated at Bhāgnārī with pomp and show in all points of regality[2] and this tie served, hereafter, as an entente cordiale between the two royal houses.

Provinces in revolt

The lack of any definite rule with regard to administration caused National disturbance and the whole race sunk into worthless ease. The people lost their virility as much as their Khān and the country invited revolts. Conducting internecine wars against his distant revolting provinces necessitated him to impose heavy taxes upon the citizens and chiefs to supply the insatiable greed of the Khān and his soldiery and thereby undermined their sense of loyalty. The passage through Bolān Pass became so dreadful for caravans that there was not a traveller who had not received a wound on his

1. 'Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan', by H. G. Raverty, p. 617.
2. 'History of Sind', by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Vol. II, p. 202.

body. The loss of an eye, scored skulls and mutilated arms were almost as common as moles in India. The general anarchy prevailing among his subjects presaged that he would soon be merely the head of the Kalāt plateau than to be the sovereign of a united Baluchistan. The district of Kej (Kech) in Makurān raised the devil. The port of Karachi, formerly a port of the Naseerian kingdom, had already slipped away from his dominions and was recovered and possessed by the Tālpur dynasty. The chiefships of Jhālāwan were sowing the seeds of a grave misfortune. But at the spur of the moment they were baffled in their attempt and the ring leaders were slain treacherously at Khuzdār by the order of the puppet ruler.

An energetic viceroy: Mustafā Khān

Mahmūd Khān was fortunate to have under his trust, his relative and lieutenant, Mustafā Khān, the governor of Kachhi and Harrand-Dājjal, who saved the ship of the State from further tides. He demanded from the then Tālpur Meer the restitution of the Karachi port. Supported by territorial aggrandisement, he pursued a consistent policy of economic penetration in Sind, which if completed, would have annexed the whole of Sind to the Khānate dominion. He patched up a treaty with S'aādat Khān, the contemporary Bahāwalpur ruler with the intention of dividing Sind into two partitions by means of which the country west of the Indus was to be despatched to the Khānate kingdom and the east of the river was to fall to the Bahāwalpur territory. But the fate of the people of Sind was destined to be otherwise. Mustafā Khān was most tragically overpowered by the great unknown and his ambitious schemes without bearing fruit followed him to his grave, never to be realised, hereafter, by any future rulers of his dynasty. During his governorship, he acted like a strong anchor to hold the ship of state from drifting towards chaos and confusion. Having taken the sword in support of the tottering throne of the Khānate, he stamped out rebellion at home, wiped out thefts and eradicated lawlessness by impartial punishments permitted by the Islamic laws. He was the only pilot of his time who weathered the storm, a skilful inventor and a man of bull dog tenacity having a frame of iron—One of the noblest and bravest sons of the soil, a chevalier *sans peur at sans reproche*, a gentleman of blood and breeding. He was the sword of the kingdom and proved to the highlanders that no kid-glove method of dealing with a disloyal and distracted populace can be of any value. He possessed a strength and obduracy of character well compatible with his strong nature. His ways of dealing things with pen and sword, constitute one of the dramatic episodes recounted in the Baluchi ballads which still form a stirring theme for the local minstrels. An English statesman, Masson, had been for a long time in the Khānate Court and gives an enchanting description of Mustafā Khān:

"Mustafā Khan," writes Masson, "had the character of an undaunted soldier. Of a commanding stature, his fine person and noble aspect were well fitted to ensure the respect of his rude countrymen as his liberality and valour were calculated to win their esteem and admiration. He was a man of violence but of justice, and the innocent had nothing to fear from him. Powerful to chastise an enemy, he was prompt to reward a friend, and his generosity of sentiment and action had often converted to a friend a worthy enemy. He retained in his pay a body of 800 well-equipped Afghān horse, which, while it made him competent to carry any of his measures,

also left him but little dependent on the tribes. Robbers he chastised with utmost severity, and although his punishments were barbarous, as impalement, etc., he proved that it was possible to restrain the licentious habits of his subjects. It had ever been the custom in Kachh Gandawa, and in most Muhammadan countries, for a Hindu, in passing from one village to another, to put himself under the protection of a Musalman, for which he presented a fee. Mustafa Khan, during his administration, abolished this system, punishing by fine the Hindu who paid a Muhammadan for protection, and by death a Muhammadan who accepted a protecting fee. In the progress among the hill tribes he was won't to throw on the road rolls of cotton cloth. If on his return, or at any subsequent time, he found them in situ, he rejoiced and would observe, 'I almost fancy that Mustafa Khan's authority is respected as it ought to be'. So fearful were the natives of the hills of exciting the attention of their terrible chieftain, that on seeing a roll of linen on the ground, they would run away from it, and pray that Mustafa Khan might never knew that they had seen it.'[1]

Mahmūd Khan after leaving an ugly memory of his doings, died about the year 1821 A.D. after a contracted illness. His death is reported to have occurred from over indulgence in easy vices. He was released to pass on his duties to a man worthy of it. Mehrāb Khan succeeded to the Khanāte.

The posy of his ring bore: گل از گلشن محمود محراب

'A rose of the rose garden of Mahmūd, is Mehrāb'.

Mehrāb Khan, the model Brahui ruler

The history of the Khānate chapter henceforth Mehrāb Khan's rule opens into a series of stormy prologues followed by terrific squells. Ever since his rule, the history of Khānate remains interesting to show the most hideous and fatal relations and *lese majeste* of the honourable courtiers against the uppertendom and lastly that of the ruler with his subjects. Mehrāb Khan ascended the throne, all round hemmed by discontented subjects due to the mal-administration of his predecessor, which paved the way for all the future misfortunes. Amidst sea of convulsions, the new ruler found himself engulfed by a gang of courtiers and counsellors who were either household slaves or men of low extraction, of feeble means. They were constantly involved in perfidious frauds either to dethrone their master or to bargain their master's life for lust of gold. For and wide, the mountain tribes were not subject to the sceptre of the ruler but to the perfidy of the Ministers. Mehrāb Khan worked with alacrity and resolution in the outset of his reign but soon fell prey to the intrigues of his ministers. Of all the various counsellors, Dāūd Muhammad Ghilzai, had a strong hold over the Khān who pinned his faith upon him and this folly exposed the unfortunate monarch to severe tests. He was choice of the ruler but not choice of the ruled. The Brahui aristocracy desired the removal of an Afghan from a high office but all persuasion made little impression on the Khān. The malcontents intending to place on the throne Akhund Muhammad Saddīq, beseiged Kalāt but were dispersed and the invading army was knocked on the head. Akhund Muhammad Saddīq, the arch enemy of the Khān, to bite Khān's glove fled away to Kandahār, and beseeched succour from the Afghan

1. 'The country of Baluchistan', by A. W. Hughes, p. 193.

chief. But to his utter disappointment, he received the treatment well deserved to him from Kohān Dil Khan Bārakzai who after shaving the former's head extradited him to Kalāt. He was an inveterate plotter and it became practically impossible for the Khān to check his irrepressible intrigues. Moreover, conditions were rapidly deteriorating on the eastern side of the kingdom; the districts of Harrand-Dājjal were annexed by Ranjīt Singh to his territory owing to the double-dealing of the double-dyed traitor, Syed Muhammad Sharīf, towards his master, the Khān. In Sārāwān and Jhalāwān, the flames of insurrection were kindled by Shah Nawāz, an Ahmadzai claimant to the throne assisted by the chiefs of the Mengal and Bizanjo tribes respectively. But timely alarmed, each of the leaders was struck all of a heap and no head, in Jhālāwān, proved too mighty or too high for the Ahmadzai sword. to smite. The district of Gwarjak in Makurān-Khārān frontier itself became the scene of relentless warfare. Still another force was in operation soon after these troubles. Following all these eventualities, happened the flight of Shah Shuja, the ex-King of Kābul. The latter arrived as a fugitive at Kalāt, where he was warmly received by Mehrāb Khan, inspite of the strong resistence of the former's trenchant enemy, Reham Dil Khan, who even pursued his enemy to the very gates of Kalāt. The refuge given to the ex-king was appreciated by the British authorities: "This reverse left him no alternative but flight; and pursuing the route of Baluchistan, he arrived at Kalat; the capital of that country, with about two hundred followers, and so closely pursued by Raham Dil Khan of Kandahar, with upwards of two thousand men, that the Royal fugitive was forced to take refuge within the palace of Khan of Kalat. The Baluchi chief instantly accorded to the unhappy monarch the protection and hospitality for which that nation is proverbial[1]".

Vizirial intrigues

Taking advantage of the widespread discontentment, the dithyrambic traitor Mulla Muhammad Hussain, the staunch enemy of the Khān, vehemently opposed the authority of the Khān's courtier, Dāūd Muhammad Ghilzai, who possessed the *de facto* repository of all political powers. The rival busy meddlers with intrigues of state employed strange stratagems against each other with dramatic changes of fortune. Dāūd Muhammad Khan in the meantime became unpopular and the Khān embarked upon a policy of exterminating the influence of the Ghilzai family but he could not make his way properly. The Afghan minister acted like a thorn in the flesh to Mulla Muhammad Hussain who one day, took time by the forelock, and treacherously slaughtered the thrasonical minister while he was performing ablution, and immediately, effected his own appointment. Now came the turn of the master, to lose his head and his country partitioned. Much of the disaster that occurred in the country during this period, may with full justice be laid at the door of this restless intriguer—Mulla Muhammad Hussain who lived as a wolf and died as a dog. The pages of the Kalāt history are sullied by the deeds of other malcontents and pecksniffs like Akhund Muhammad Saddiq and Syed Muhammad Sharīf each of whom played pitch and

1. Vide No. 61, The Governor General in Council to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 5th March 1835, p. 42, of the 'Papers relative to the expedition into Afghanistan'.

toss with the property of the State and endeavoured their utmost to strike up the heels of their master.

In the year 1838 A.D. Lieutenant Leech was deputed to arrange terms with the Khān about the safety of British troops *en route* to Kandahār while assisting Shuja-ul-Mulk, the then Sadozai claimant to the throne of Afghanistan. The march of the British troops through the Bolān Pass was harassed by the neighbouring hilly tribes, mainly the Marris, who were instigated and bribed by Syed Sharīf whose nephew was the chief ring leader of these banditti. Mulla Muhammad son of the deposed minister of Naseer Khān was anxiously waiting for the moment to avenge the insult given to his father by the preceding Khān. He insidiously misrepresented to the British authorities the cause of these menaces to the British garrison, which, he told, were due to Khān Mehrāb Khān. On April 6, 1839, the British forces reached Quetta under Sir John Keane who took the charge of expedition from MacNaughton.

Three more accusations, false as waghorn, imputed to the Khān, were credited by Sir Alexander Burnes, who was constantly misguided by Mulla Muhammad Hussain and Syed Sharīf. General MacNaughton suggested to punish the Khān by annexing Shāl (Quetta), Mastung and Kachhi to the dominions of Shah Shuja.

"The Khan of Kalat", remarks MacNaughton "is our implacable enemy, and Sir John Keane is burning with revenge. There never was such treatment inflicted on human beings as we have been subjected to our progress through the Khan's country."

Muhammad Hussain provoked the Khān regarding the malice prepense of the British to make him a State prisoner. It was a grave mistake on the part of the Khān, to have committed to this wicked favourite all public cares and political authority. Horrible were the simulations and dissimulations of this stygian minister. He was the Hamlet of many historical scandals. He addressed a number of counterfeit epistles secretly authenticated by the Khān's royal seal which he possessed by merit of his office to different chiefs, to molest the British garrison *en route* to Kandahār. Those letters fell into the hands of the British authorities as intended by Mulla Hussain whose pinprick policy and terminological inexactitude riped his ambitions, and paved the way for cannon shots as destined later on.

Mehrāb Khān perceived all these perfidies and ambitions of Muhammad Hussain and felt grievously that his masterdom was at the brink of doom in the *paulo post futurum tense*. Rumours, tumults and confusion all embroiled the Khān's mind with thrall-like fear. He expected that in near future the Imperial trumpets will ring the fatal summons to his ears and the day is not far off when the whole of Baluchistan will be invited as a sad spectator to the funeral feast of the Khānate Monarchy. The Kalāt political atmosphere seemed disturbed and clouded, fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils. False accusations heaped upon his head by his back-friends through back-stairs influence, all the more, perturbed and prejudiced the Khān. Sir Alexander Burnes believed things to be based upon mere suspicion, like the baseless accusation of the confiscation by the Khān of the grains collected by Lieutenant Leech's agents. About this matter Burnes addressed a letter to the Khān, to use for-

mer's own phrase, 'would astound him'. The Shah Ghāsī, too, wrote to the Khān from Shikārpur reminding him that his enemy Shāh Nawāz was with him in the royal camp. Concluding these facts, Masson remarks:—

'It was reasonable to conclude the unlucky Khan of Kalat would fare but badly with his English friends'.

Nothing can conceal the intention of the British envoys to chastise the Brahui ruler, more than the statement of Masson, when he perused the letter written by Burnes to a friend, in which he dealt comprehensively with the treaty duly concluded with the Khān and the intentions of the Imperial Government vis-a-vis the Brahui Khānate. Masson writes in the following lines the *volte face*:

'From the same channel I learned that it was the intention to retaliate upon the Khan, when the army returned from Kabul and that he was doomed to loss of power, and, if secured, to linger out his existence as a State prisoner'. The unsuccessful return of the British army from Kandahār opened a *decorous pretex* for war against the Khān. The Imperial army marched towards Kalāt on November 4, 1839, under General Willshire (afterwards Sir Willshire) who commanded the Bombay column. On the 11th November the British forces reached Kalāt and beleaguered the Meeree Fort and arranged their columns at impregnable positions. On the 12th November in the morning when the sun began to flood the heaven with crimson and gold, the British guns kept on roaring on the Fort, built of mud; fountains of earth continued to ascend upwards and the walls of the Fort were peacefully crumbling down. The western side of the walled city was pierced by the British guns. A vast column of smoke and dust shooting out fury sparks from its stony sides arose vertically with roaring sound bursting out the stones, the fragments of which wounded and killed many soldiers of the Khān inside the fort. It was a day of desperate fighting and carnage. A hammer and tongs battle was displaying its horrors. The Kalāti kingdom stood on the threshold of a decisive issue on the outcome of which hanged the fate of the whole Khānate. When night fell, Mehrāb Khān found himself beaten. The besieged answered vigorously, their guns laid many low. For the major part of the day, his men impetuously kept the enemy at bay but failed in the end to create any effective deterrent against the British forces. The Khān with a handful of men fought in a desperate frenzy like a ravaging lion. With his maiden sword in his hand, he came piercing through the crowd within the fort where he met his sad end *in medias res*. Encircled by a few of his faithful companions and conycatched by the rest of his Brahui nobles, he fell like a sinking ship relinquished by the vassals. The betrayal of the Brahuis remains a remarkable event in the history of betrayals. With such soldiers as the Kalātis, and such advisers as Muhammad Hussain, Akhund Muhammad Saddīq and Syed Muhammad Sharīf, the fall of Kalāt by the British forces was only a matter of time. On the 13th morning the murderous assault and bombardment turned the Meeree into a huge burial ground, and the Kalātīs beaten to earth cried for mercy. The fort was taken and spoiled and capital was filled with Consternation. But the cream town of the Khānate was captured not without treason from within. Upon its time-worn fort rested the history of a thousand-year old kingdom of various races, the narrow streets of which already weary of disaster and tugged with fortune, had beceme red with blood when the tumultuous

hordes of Rinds and Brahuis made their triumphant entry into the Kalāt capital respectively. The capture of the fort in former times meant possession of the whole country and the prestige implied in its possession was deeply felt throughout the length and breadth of Baluchistan.

On the evening of the 14th, the British Flag was seen floating over the ruined ramparts of the Fort and the sullen courtiers saw the Imperial army entering with great pride inside the splended edifices erected and maintained by the royal opulence, where previous to this even the haughtiest had to bow as a mark of respect before the royal attendents to get the nearest passage, to meet their lord.

Sir James Outrame who was with General Willshire as aide-de-camp, describes the battle of Kalāt:

'It was truly an imposing sight. Some small hills in front were crowned with masses of soldiers and the towering citadel which frowned above them in their rear was completely clustered over with human beings chiefly ladies of the harem,[1] who had assembled to witness the discomfiture of the Feringhees, and the prowess of their lords, all of whom with the Khan at their head, had previously marched out to the heights, where they awaited us in array'.

Loveday remarks that, 'With a couple of 100 sipahis the Khan and his brother would have baffled all attacks but they were betrayed by their own party'. The day after the battle lieutenant Loveday looked on pityingly as 'a few of Mehrab Khan's servants brought the body of their master for burial—a fine-looking man. There was one little hole in his brest, which told of a musket-ball having passed through. He had no clothes on, except his silk pyjammahs. One of his slaves whispered me for a shawl. Alas! I had nothing of the kind, but luckily remembered a brocade bed-cover which I bought in my days of folly and extravagance at Delhi. I called for it immediately, and gave it to the Khan's servants, who were delighted with this last mark of respect, and wrapping up the body in it, placed their deceased master on a charpoy, and carried him to the grave.'

Another notable authority sums up the humiliating story: 'For former hospitality, and for protection from sanguinary pursuers, the gratitude of Shah Shooja, under British influence, awarded to Mehrab Khan the loss of his poor capital and a soldier's death. After his honourable fall documents were found which proved the manner in which the Khan had been betrayed and his endeavours to negotiate frustrated; nevertheless it was though advisable to consummate the threat formerly made, and to place Shah Nawaz Khan, to the exclusion of the son of the fallen chief, upon the masnad of Khelat[2]'.

The guiltless, innocent and most tragic doom of Mehrāb Khan, the sack of capital, the partition of the country, the fatal division of the royal house, were all due to the uninterrupted series of errors and misunderstandings mainly wrought

1. The majority of the Kalāt rulers were attended in peace or war by the most favoūrite concubines.

2. Sir Henry M. Durand, The First Afghan War and its causes, pp. 227-8.

from the British Camp and specially by those who were at the helm of affairs. The bigoted Masson, who has throughout shown Mehrāb Khan as a true despot, even laments the tragic fall of the doomed Khān: 'The motives influencing the revengeful deed have never been revealed, nor are likely officially to be disclosed, because they would too closely demonstrate the incapacity, delusion and errors, not to say the bad passions, of the unhappy man selected by Lord Auckland to work out his visionary projects beyond the Indus. I may, therefore, in throwing what light I am able upon the proceedings, contribute a few pages to the history of an eventful period, and, although they will relate to past crimes and occurrences, they may be useful in setting forth the truth, and in serving to avert future mischief[1]'.

The tragic tale of 1839 is a confused, brave and pathetic event, illumined with much heroism and sacrifice, smeared with much treachery and cowardice. Mehrāb Khan gave his pen, fortune, throne and his life for the cause of his nation's integerity and independence. He was entombed in the Royal graveyard with ceremonials least fit to his position. For a short span, violence and convulsion ruled the land after his death and it seemed for the moment, that Kalāt flag was never to be unfurled proudly on the tops of Meeree. The curse of political servitude found home in the heart of every thinking man with scoffing gibe and piognant vigour. Once for all, the national control over the national policy slipped away from the hands of the Khān to those of the British. His martyrdom tore asunder the National prestige and the wound has never healed. The Brahui realm lapsed more and more into political disunity. Immediately after this tragedy, it was found that the martyred Khān was absolutely innocent of the designs which Muhammad Hussain fraudulently reported to the British General. The penalty that a ruler suffered through the frivolous and fiendish fabrications of a flagitious man, cannot be forgotten for ages to come. The grave accident as described by Malleson who fairly quits the Khan of the imputed blames was 'More than a grave error, a crime'. Masson strongly argues in support of the Khān's innocence of all the accusations heaped upon him maliciously. After the fall of the Kalāt citadel a search was made into the Royal chambers: "It was only in the search for documents made by the Political officers after the capture of Kalat that the letters of Muhammad Hussain to Mehrab Khan were found under the pillow of the fallen prince; and these, by the disclosure then made, at once condemned the treacherous minister. He was immediately arrested and sent with the Naib Rehimdad to the fortress of Bakhar on the Indus. This discovery was some testimony at least, to the innocence of the deceased ruler[2]". His tragic death is one of the most mournful events in the history of the Khānate, most pitiable of all the events in which the human lives are lost by human profanation. A man of parts, Mehrāb towered high above his men in various ways. He was an honourable, haughty, high spirited and intensely prejudiced man. A morose and affected taciturnity ruled over his spirit.

1. Masson, p. 79.

2. The 'Country of Baluchistan', by A. W. Huges, p. 205.

By the right of conquest, the British authorities annexed some portions of Sārāwān, Kachhi and Gandāwā to the Kābul rule under the direct control of the British suzerainty. After the defeat of Mehrāb Khān, the whole of Baluchistan fell before the British aegis. The once real neighbours of Persia on the south-east were no longer the Gichki chiefs of Makurān, or of Khārān, or even the Khān of Kalāt, but instead the real power slipped away from both their pen and sword and it was the British Rāj which held then the keys of the Indian Empire at Calcutta. After Mehrāb Khān, the British authorities enthroned Shāh Nawāz Khān on the masnad. This political move excited the tribal chiefs like oil thrown on the fire. In 1840, the Sārāwānians under Muhammad Khān Shāhwāni raised the standard of revolt and *fortiter in re* scattered the seeds of disloyalty and discontent among the people by supporting the cause of Naseer Khān II, who was destined to go down in history as Kalāt's second best monarch. Stirred by the call of blood and actuated by ardent ambition for kingship, Naseer fled and took refuge with the chief of Khārān immediately after the martyrdom of his father. The insurgents though a fortuitous concourse of atoms were now on all fours. Headed by their leader, Muhammad Khān, attacked Kalāt which was defended by Shāh Nawāz Khān along with a British garrison commanded by Lieutenant Loveday. The rebels opened a ceaseless fire to storm the fort. The European garrison fought with greatest gallantry and inspite of the energy and tactics displayed by their commander, they could not withhold against the furious attack of the Brahuis. After one day's strenuous fighting the insurgents entered the fort as victors without much loss being incurred and the town was despatched into flames as a punishment for its contumacy. Lieutenant Loveday was made captive and the property of the British garrison was indiscriminately plundered. The completely beaten men of Shāh Nawāz Khān abandoned the fort and the doomed Khān to fill up the measure of his follies was permitted to depart to Sind. The capture of the Kalāt Fort ranks with the great actions recorded in the Brahui annals. At this juncture, General Nott's Brigade arrived at Quetta from Kandahār, orders were soon given to him to occupy Kalāt. The insurgents left Kalāt and moved towards Dhādar then held by a small British garrison. Naseer Khān II, *L'enfant de la Fortune*. was impatiently watching all these movements from Khārān. The Dhādar expedition of the rebels ended in complete failure and they were pushed backward in the hills at a loose end. The Brahuis entrenched themselves in the mountains near Kotra. The flames of insurrection raged all round. Naseer Khān invited all men to flock to his standard, and dextrously employed religious mendicants, to fan among the people, the embers of religious hatred caused by the martyrdom of his father. The despairing children of Kalāt sprang to life and vigour once more. Naseer started from Khārān with a long tail of an awkward squad towards Kotri where people from Sārāwān, especially from Nushki assembled at his call, with their peculiar war paraphernalia, armed with the most part with matchlocks hung over their shoulders and powder-surcingles round their waists. The Jhālāwānis streamed through the Mūla pass towards Dhādhar. All the young or old who could bear the brunt and fatigue of war, assembled with impatient zeal to fly at the head. This whole unorganised mob set the heather

Provinces in revolt, Kalāt besieged. Emergence of Nasīr II as the Khān

on fire and without a commander streamed like a raging deluge through the narrow mountain passes which wrangled with the noise of the drums beaten by the tribal minstrels famed for raising the reserved qualities of the warriors at the time of tribal feuds. All the business at Jhālāwān was stopped, roads were closed, and villages abandoned. Two days before the battle, the Jhālāwānis joined the Sārāwānian contingents near Kotra. All the ebullient tribesmen applauded their Khān to the echo, and the whole scene presented, as if, a marriage party had reached the appointed place and were duly enlivened and encouraged by the hero of the show. All obeyed the wonted signal and supreme voice of this great potentate. Naseer's plans soared up like fire. At the head of a considerable force, he determined to strike a vigorous blow. The Brahuis increased the natural difficulties of the pass by barricading the road with abatis and parapets, and passes became more impracticable owing to the precipitous hills. Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall was directed to attack the Khān at his position. On December 1, 1840, Lt-Col. Marshall with 900 bayonets, native infantry, 60 irregular horse, and two field guns approached the scene of the battle, concentrated, organised and fortified his position. Early in the morning the British guns poured a murderous fire upon Khān's men. The British marksmen galled the Brahuis and the cream of their forces were killed, wounded and the remainder were hamstrung and paralysed. The second day of fight broke fatal for the young Khān, who, while, surveying his army found that they reached the end of their tether. Demented with thirst and fatigue, the Kalātīs, by the earthquake voice of defeat pushed backward on as fast as they could and betook to clear flight. Undisciplined as his men were, fell men after men. In an indescribable confusion, they gave the battle in favour of the British, leaving the battle field with four of the principal chiefs and more than 500 dead. The defeat at Kotra was a monumental failure of Brahui generalship. Meer Bohir Khān, the chief commander, alongwith six other chiefs, and 132 of their bravest followers surrendered themselves as captives of war. Naseer Khān with two followers escaped on foot and breathed in the neighbouring hills. The Kalāt history would hardly deign to forgive the common flight both of the prince and people from the field of battle. It caused for ever, the proud Brahui head to hang in shame. There is, however, another version to this affair. Colonel Stacy states that he was informed by the Brahui chiefs that they were in daily intercourse with the British authorities and Lt-Col Marshall, when they were treacherously attacked. Darogha Gul Muhammad, later on, stated to Colonel Stacy that the Khān's envoys were in Colonel Marshall's camp when the attack was made. He is reported to have said, "it is not the custom to send proposals of peace and friendship in the evening, and next morning made an attack. Who shall say how many men were killed, wounded, and taken; how much property was seized; what was the extent of our misfortune." After the defeat at Kotra, Naseer Khān deputed one of his peers to act as his plenipotentiary in the negotiations with Mr. Ross-Bell, the then Agent to the Governor General in the upper Sind for peaceful terms. In December 1840, eventually, Colonel Stacy was appointed to proceed to Kalāt, to open negotiations with the Khān, then at Kachhi. By the mutual consent of the British Envoy and of the Brahui nobles, Naseer Khān triumphantly entered Kalāt in July 1841. On the 6th

October, he was proclaimed as the Khān of Kalāt by Major Sir Outram, the Agent in Upper Sind. The young prince proved himself the man of the hour. Between the Khān and the British there was fixed a great chaos but the confidence once lost was again cemented by a treaty. All the previous distracted districts were restored to him. The terms of the treaty drawn in 1841 were as follows:—

1. While recognising the Khan's vassalage to Shah Shuja (afterward annulled), the reigning chief of Kalāt should always be ruled by the British Resident.
2. British troops might occupy any position in Kalāt territory in any force.
3. The Khan's foreign relationships must be absolutely at the discretion of the British Government.
4. The British Government guaranteed the Khan his dominions, and undertook to assist him in preserving order.

The treaty of 1841, was a treaty sufficiently stringent—a death blow to the freedom of Baluchistan. It was a Carthaginian peace. In 1851, John Jacob again took up the Kalāt question. The hill tribes had thrown off the reins; the Brahui chiefs were again labouring to undermine the Khān's integrity. The Court of Directors after ripe considerations, approved that a light interference should be made so as to develop trade, but were not prepared to hear of any military advance. On receiving the minute, Jacob wrote to the Commissioner: "With regard to assisting the Khan—my opinions are unchanged. If the fire consuming our neighbour's house did not—would not spread to ours, we might perhaps let it burn unheeded, but as matters are, it might be prudent, in my opinion, to assist in extinguishing it."

In 1854, however, when war between England and Russia—the walking bear of Mr. Kipling—was highly expected, and it necessitated to strengthen British influence on the western frontier, hence, a new treaty was concluded with the Khān.

According to this treaty, the boundaries of the State were defined and again the petty and powerless State of Las-Bela fell an easy and glorious accession to the Kalāt dominion. The Khān, however, bitterly despised the British Policy. Consequently, few months after the defeat at Kotra, he ordered for the raising of an army amounting to forty thousand pick of the pick to twist the lion's tail at Jacobābād in order to restore the hampered prestige of the country. The indulgence of revenge tended him to out-Herod Herod. The British, on the otherhand, were slowly but firmly planting their hold on the soil of Baluchistan. One of the antagonists of the Khān let the cat out of the bag. In 1857, this heroic prince of Baluchistan was poisoned through one-eyed, palsied, Rebec-faced Dāroghā (chamberlain), Gul Muhammad, who was conspired by Beebee Khadījā, the mother of Khudādād Khan. In May 1857, Meer Naseer Khan was travelling from Gandāwā to Kalāt. During his journey through the Mūla pass, he suffered an attack due to stone in the bladder. He marched to Angīrā where he got through a barber sent by Gul Muhammad, a letter and some medicine. The Khān took the medicine which instead of relieving him concluded his life, ambition and anxiety. It was poison which pierced into his intestines. In great agony, the Khān declared that his

intestines were on fire[1]. After two days unbearable pain and disquietude, Naseer drew the sluice of life up. That usual treacherous and tyrannical fate which immutably impeded the national growth of the Kalātī State, at a time of half completion, again performed its ominous and hideous part at its proper time on this occasion too. Thus died Naseer II, a martyr to his devotion to country, a human complexity, a riddle, an unconquerable soul, gifted with splended physique and intrepid courage. The luring ambition of the Khān flung his precious life to a sad end. His short reign was nothing but a "gleam of sunshine in an Erebus of gloom." Had his schemes been successful, the map of Baluchistan would have been quite different as we see now. But fortune, jealous of hearing his name so often, cut short his brilliant career at a time when he was most needed. It was truly a national misfortune and calamity. Naseer's instincts were always those of a soldier, rather than of a civilian. Notwithstanding many marked features, Naseer was doomed, like his father, to suffer frustration and failure.

His administrative reforms were of the 'rough and ready' order and as such commended themselves to the people among whom he was placed who were not yet prepared for the full draught of civilisation. "Under a judicious course of training," writes Hughes, 'he might have learnt how best to curb and control with tact and address the unruly chiefs that had given his unfortunate father so much trouble and uneasiness. Cut off suddenly at an early age by poison it is generally believed, for showing tendencies of too English a nature, his country lost in him a sovereign who promised to initiate the worth deeds and virtues of his great namesake[2]". Sir Merewether adds few more words to his greatness and glory:—"One and all-Belooch and—Brahooees, chiefs and peasants—declare how happy they were under the strong friendly government of this prince. The reason was that his rule had the paternal and patriarchal elements in it. Nusseer Khan had a just regard for the right of property, and never robbed his nobles and retainers of their lawful share in the State revenues".

Khudādād Khan and his rule

Khudādād Khan succeeded Naseer II conforming to the famous Arabic verse: "when passes a lord of our line, in his stead there rises straight a lord to say the say and do the deeds of the noble". He was the only son of Mehrāb Khan's second bed. The predecessors of Mehrāb Khan maintained the blood purity of their line. Henceforth his rule, all the succeeding Khāns were half-blooded. To the vein of blue blood developed under rough and rigid mountains life there were now added a blood of a mongrel and vulpine stock. There is no king who has not had a slave among his ancestors, and no slave who has not had a king among his. Naseer's half-brother, the half-bred Khudādād Khan struggled to steer the ship of State through the disturbed sea of convulsions, but the cruel dictates of time hopelessly shattered his hopes of making Kalāt, a foremost state. During the years immediately following 1857, Kalāt was in wild turmoil. The succession created a crop of difficulties and mishaps for Khudādād Khan. He was only

1. "Papers relating to the Affairs of Khelat", p. 29.
2. 'The Country of Baluchistan', p. 235-236.

sixteen years of age when ascended the throne, and never was a state more in need of a strong sceptre. Tyranny and terror, with their offsprings, fear, misery and distress were ruling the land. Rebellions were announced from all quarters. Soon after the death of Naseer II, the Kalātī government proceeded like a paralytic man possessing in one hand a loaded pistol; it trembled, it bursted but it stood—stood amazedly. Being of tender age, at the first go-off, he passed at once into the power of the Dāroghā, Gul Muhammad, a man slippery as an eel and one who strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel. He was a living, walking and a speaking counterfeit. He embroiled the young Khān with his chiefs and instigated him to open fire with the gloves off. A little later on, Khudādād Khān, as advised by Sir Bartle Frere and General John Jacob, dismissed Gul Muhammad and appointed Shāhghāssī Wālī Muhammad as his wazir. His Royal Sign Manual bore the insignia: خداداد گان راخداداده است Though God gifted him with kingship, yet the gift was venomed with calamitous elements which sufficiently proved as such later on. This gift of God proved to him as a scourge from God. A man of tempestuous and ornate character, he was by nature. The office of kingship made him harsh and haughty, and, in fact, he established his authority, as we see later on, on the foundation of terror. The treachery and deceptive traits of his subjects made him a true tyrant. Kings will be tyrants from policy, when subjects are rebels from principle. The uncommon show of power and might could not enable him to reflect the gleam and glamour of a successful ruler. He is described by his personal friend, Sir Robert Sandeman, in the following words:

'He is of small stature, has dark piercing eyes, swarthy complexion, and long black ringlets, usually surmounted by a gay shawl turban. His features are not regular, and his expression though generally careless and by no means ill-tempered, can on occasions, be determined, sullen, or even ferocious.' Colonel R. Phayre, Political Superintendent upper Sind influenced by the baseless and wrong reports of the Brahui chiefs, specially Mulla Muhammad Raīsānī and Tāj Muhammad Khān Zehri gives in the following words a partial and poor account of the character of the Khān:—

"With regard to the Khan's character, I fear there can be little doubt that it is unpromising in the extreme. Not that he is without some good traits, probably in an inferior position as the petty chief of half a dozen villages he might pass through life unnoticed and unblamed, but even Major Green, who would gladly have taken the most favourable views of his character, is drawn to the conclusion that he is mean and low-minded, wanting in courage and openness, and totally destitute of that frankness and spirit which are the first requisites in the ruler of so many half-wild tribes, and which would, if he possessed them, atone for a multitude of grave faults[1]".

His reign was marked with monstrous atrocities. In his early days of Khānship, he found the Kalātī throne a bed of thorns. His regime is destined to pass into Baluchistan's history under the designation of the "days of revenge." It remains generally true in the sublime words of Bacon that "Princes are like the heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times, and which have much veneration, but no rest." The whole of Baluchistan became a prey to turbulent

1. "Papers relating to the affairs of Khelat", p. 31.

factions and tribal feuds. He had too many irons in the fire. For seventeen years, on his own hook, this young ruler was constantly engaged in iron years of wars and dangers, in subduing various revolts designed by the tribal chiefs, each of whom tried to bring the young prince under his influence by hook or by crook. This undercurrent excitement was not confined to the State but spread also in the neighbouring tribal areas of Marri, Bugti and the Sind-Baluch border. On the western side of the state, Sardār Azād Khān Nausherwānī, the Khārān chief, renunciated his allegiance to the legitimate sovereign—the Khān, and caused extreme repugnance in putting forward Fateh Khān, one of the claimants to the Khānate throne. Sir Henry Green acted as an intermediary to bring to terms the Khān with the Nausherwānī chief, but all efforts failed miserably. Finally, Azād Khān fled away to Kandahār. In 1859, Marris revolted but soon yielded to the conquering arms of the Khān without special show of defence. In 1860, the Makurānīs put themselves to the horn. It urged him to give rather than to receive the blow. Khudādād knew no mercy, it was not enthroned in his heart. He himself undertook the expedition, grasped the nettle and the precipitant rebellion headed by the Gichki chiefs who were ambitioning the sovereignty of Makurān, was utterly frustrated by the military genius of the Khān. In 1863, Sher Dil Khān, the cousin of the Khān, assisted by Tāj Muhammad Zehri fomented a rising to install himself as the ruler. The former was ambitioning to exchange his ducal cap for the kingly crown, and was conscious of the fact that this course would either lead him to a monument or the scaffold, and, in fact, he experienced the both. In Kachhi, during a conference, he attacked Khudādād Khān unconsciously from behind and severely wounded him. The Khān fled to Jacobābād side and in his absence on the 17th March 1863, the leading chiefs of Kalāt planted Sher Dil Khān in the throne. He enjoyed the Kalātī diadem for few months, but it was like a dance on a volcano. In May 1864, Sher Dil was killed by the Afghān Commander-in-chief of the Kalātī forces who was bribed by Khudādād Khān and the fate which the numskulled commander met after Khudādād Khān's reinstallation is an odd incident. "Leave my country," he told the commander, "the sooner the better. You have betrayed your previous master by your heinous act. There is no reason why I should not expect the same fate from your impious hands". In 1864, Khudādād entered Kalāt with purple and fine linen and was reinstalled as the Khān of Kalāt. In July of the same year, the Jām of Las Bela along with Nūr-ud-dīn, the Mengal chief, raised the cockle of rebellion and sedition. The Khān despatched an expeditionary force under his wazir Walī Muhammad. The Las Bela chief along with his allies was subdued not by entreaties but with sheer strength of sword and one after another 'the poppy-heads have been smitten off.' Tāj Muhammad Khān, the principal chief of Jhālāwān headed a revolt. The obvious cause of the revolt was that the betrothal of the Khān to the daughter of Tāj Muhammad Khān had been formerly executed, but the Khān suddenly married the Sardār's sister, widow of his brother, the late Khān, and a determined enemy of her brother. This event caused a direct affront to the Sardār who remained as the staunch enemy of the hapless Khān till his last breath. "One thing is however beyond a doubt," remarks Henry Green about Tāj Muhammed, "that a more desperate intriguer, or a greater traitor, did not exist in any native court in Asia, and so long as he remained at large, His Highness the

Khan's position could never have been safe[1]".

Khudādād Khan ruled according to the theory laid down by Machiaville:

A model of a true despot

> 'Man is what he is, and so he needs to be vitted and briddled with laws, and now and again to be treated to a stiff dose of medicine forti in the shape of fire, bullet, axe, halter and dungeon.'

Political necessity found the prevailing rebellious atmosphere intolerable any more. The Brahui Chiefs expected the storm which burst upon them with redoubled fury. The combination of a high degree of religious and intellectual culture commingled with cruel and savage barbarity is not one of the uncommon features of history. Besides the facts, as reported by personal evidences about the rigidity of the Khān towards the observance of prayers and other religious rituals alongwith scholarly taste, he was not the least influenced by those Islamic susceptibilities which raised several individuals to the greatest order of society and station. Napoleon, the man of destiny, remarked: 'When a king is said to be kind man, the reign is failure'. While Khudādād Khan proved on the other hand that to be a true despot is not only a failure but more than a national misfortune. He was always ill fated, whether in policy, peace or battle. All his schemes and ambitions went to pot.

What others seek by kindness, justice and grandeur, he wanted to accomplish by sword, gunpowder, pit and gallows. Blood and halter formed the forefront of his policy. In his mentality and person, we find, all those qualities of dual code which three centuries before went to the making of Ameer Chākar. In some ways he out-Naseered Naseer I. He was a demon of destruction, mercilessly thrown by nature over Baluchistan's soil. His sword remained often unsheathed and flashed over human skulls 'like a meteor streaming to the wind'. Disposed to be a man of Bacchic character, the minute record of his life will make one tremble like reed. A Brahui ruler of enormous ability, a policeman, a mystic, a man of genius in Kalāt history, yet bedecked with all these qualities, he was handicapped to go down in history as a successful ruler. He ruled a vast territory but never ruled the heart of his people. Guts, durability, tenacity, shrewdness, jealousy and savagery were the oars of his political boat. He cared little for his courtiers and chiefs. They were little fish round him. Even the loyal servants were kept on the 'tenterhooks of hope and fear'. His tumultuous episodes of life are full of deeds of savagery and treachery but they are relieved by acts of heroism, endurance, pomp and show which would do grace and honour to any age and to any country. It was because of his sternness and barbarity that his political achievements were blemished by blunders which engulfed the whole State in woe and misery. People admired his mind but not his heart and he too admired their ignorance but not their deeds. He resolved the policy of no longer rocking and swaying, but clashing and colliding.

On several occasions his passion for vengeance led him to fits of wild rage and acts of impolitic cruelty. In 1292 A.H. in the month of Zilhaj, he demanded the presence of Sardār Nūr-ud-Dīn Mengal at Kalāt. Accordingly the chief with his

1. "Papers relating to the affairs of Khelat", presented to the Parliament, p. 9.

heart in his mouth, left for Kalāt along with seventy one dignitaries of his tribe. On reaching the capital, all of them found to have put their hands in the lion's mouth. Early in the 9th morning, of the same month, the Khān ordered his chamberlain to murder in cold-blood the Mengal chief and his companions. The promiscuous carnage was performed, we are told, when the merciless Khān was attending his breakfast table and the avidity of his appetite was animated by the music of the dying groans of his enemies, whom he witnessed from the top-story of the Meeree fort. The decollated head of the Mengal chief was sent to his proud and profane relatives as a fit retribution of their treachery. The rest were buried in one place adjacent to the fort. In August 1847, Tāj Muhammad Zehri then confined at Kalāt, was poisoned through the artifices of Shāhgāssī Walī Muhammad, and thus an untimely death secured his repose.

His aggressive character and schemes for territorial aggrandisement perpetualy involved in trouble both his own kingdom and the neighbouring Baluch chiefships, with which he had established political relations. Besides multifarious risks his fidelity to his cause never wavered and he had to meet still with tragic events which were crowding thick and fast upon him.

Sārāwān rebellion

The Sārāwānian Brahuis under an able leader began to harden their necks and followed a hazardous course in denouncing the Khān. Mullah Muhammad Raīsānī, a meddler with the intrigues of the State and an arch enemy of the Khan, constantly but cautiously, cherished intrigues against the royal house. Debates, discords and uproars were Mullah Muhammad's joy. He was a fearful combination of an intransigent intrigant and a revolutionist. In 1865, this stump orator of the Brahuis, in alliance with Tāj Muhammad, implicated a plot to assassinate the Khān but fortunately the conspiracy failed. He escaped the rage of his sovereign and was driven from prince to prince and from place to place. At length, this revolted-duke of the Khānate, the surge of disastrous wilfulness, whirled away to Kandahār. For years to come, he roamed to and fro *faute de mieux* and suffered hardships like a toad under a harrow. After a long list of intrigues, he died after a blood guilty life. Even at Kandahār Mullah Muhammad could not remain a silent spectator. Destitute of the powers of resistance, dejected of his doom but desperate in designs, he wrote the following letter to Sāloo Khan Rāisānī showing his incapacity to get help from the Afghans, and thereby, directed the latter to foment a rebellion in Sārāwān.

To Saloo Khan Raisanee

"I have received your letter and am aware of its contents. You write that we people in Candahar have made no attempt to create a disturbance in Khelat territory. What you say is true. Wealth and opportunity are required to carry out such plans. Owing to want of combination I have been obliged to live at Candahar. If all you people will act in conjunction with me we shall attain our object.

'I have sent Aladad Khan, son of Naib Mahomed Hussun, to the Ameer, and we shall see what will happen. If you, Saloo Khan, have made any arrangement for me, let me know who your confederates are, and whether the rebellion is to take

place in Quetta, Mustoong, or Kutchee; also inform me when it takes place, and I will join you at once. You write that all the Brahooees are of one accord in this matter. Let me know the names of the Sirdars, as also whether Sirdar Jehangir Lehree and Syed Ali Mahomed are of the same opinion. Lose no time and spare no effort in organizing this rebellion, and I will join you as soon as the arrangements have been completed. Don't rely upon the Afghan Government for any support in this business; we have nothing to hope for from the Ameer. If you can do anything by yourselves, well and good. No assistance will be given from this place, so do not calculate upon our being able to aid you. Inform me on what terms Khodadad Khan and Shahgassee Wullee Mahomed are, whether they act cordially with each other or not. I have given the Cossid eight rupees[1]".

In 1867, Mulla Muhammad Raīsānī returned from Kandahār to seduce the Brahuis to a foul revolt. In the November of same year, he was joined by Adam Khān Bangulzai, Allah Dinā Kurd and Muhammad Khān Lehri with about 200 followers. Khān Khudādād Khān despatched Shāhgāssee Walī Muhammad with a contingent of regular force alongwith tribal men. The latter made a sudden attack upon the rebels, many of whom were killed and the leaders fled for refuge to the Marri territory.

In 1871 A.D. Muhammad Khān, the chief of Shāhwānī, and other Brahui nobles instigated the Brahuis to lay waste and loot the property and crops of Kachhī province. Crops were destroyed and people were murdered recklessly. Hindu traders were mercilessly degraded, villages were burnt and women disgraced and dishonoured. All the green fields were turned into barren lands. The horror reminded the people about the utter ruin once caused by the merciless Mongol invaders over the Asiatic countries.

The few big land-lords of Kachhī wrote to Khān Khudādād Khān, a pathetic letter which is reproduced here:—

"When the disturbance commenced in Kutchee, all your officials and we poor cultivators were like fishes on dry land; we were so perplexed that we fled with our household property. Most of the people fled like the wind. We, the writers of this letter, and Arhab[2] Jaffer Khan, "since dead", went to Imaum Bakhsh Rhind and asked him for God's sake to defend Bagh, as it was your Highness' Takht or palatial residence, and that the Belooch and Brahooees were your subjects, and to save us and the Hindoos and Mussulmen from the snake's mouth. In spite of all we could say he left us, and we poor people did what we could and prayed to God to save us from the plunderers.

Bagh is your residence, your officials deserted us, and left us to be plundered by these dogs and wolves, "Brahooees". The Brahooees have only two hands and so have we, and had we been assisted we would have fought. All your people fled for one month and four days; we did all we could to save the town. The Brahooees in your pay and employ at Bagh joined the rebels in looting the place.

Wudderah Ahmed Khan Bolehdee came in the middle of one night and helped us to get our families away, and gave us every assistance. He only had a few men,

1. "Papers relating to the Affairs of Khelat", p. 102.
2. This word is Arbāb.

and the Brahooees were in numbers; in the fight one of his people was wounded. The Brahooees have looted Bagh in such a manner as we are unable to describe what has occurred.

During one month the Brahooees plundered from Bagh to Kunchah, viz; Johi-Kabrah, Beregaree Gaelpore, Gunjlo-Johi, Gool Mahomed Arhab, Oosta, and other villages, carrying off cattle, household property, money, jewellery, and wearing apparel. Many people had buried their treasure, but the Brahooees drew their swords and threatened to kill them if they did not show where it was hidden. Having done this they set fire to many of the villages. Our sighs must have reached heaven, to describe all we have gone through would necessitate writing a book as large as the Shah Nameh; for this reason we have only briefly alluded to what has taken place. If we live we will tell you everything[1]."

From Ala Dittah, Faiz Mohomed, Lal Buksh,
Ryee[2] Khooda Buksh, Hajee Morad, Bais[3] Julloo,
Oosman, Rehim, and Moleena, Zemindars of Bagh.

Battle of Khud

On Thursday the 4th October, 1871 A.D. report reached Khān Khudādād Khān then at Ziārat (few miles away from Kalāt) about the occurrence of a disturbance at Mastung and Quetta. Shahgassee Walī Muhammad with 500 followers met the malignant malcontents at Khud near Mastung. The insurgents suffered an overwhelming defeat and the three out of four famous ring-leaders were killed—Sardār Jehāngīr Khān Lehri, Mubārak Khān Shāhwānī, and Said Khān Bungalzai. Losses on Khān's side were negligible.

In September 1870, the Afghān Government brought to the notice of the British Government the unhappy relations of the Khān with Mullā Muhammad Raisānī. There upon, the then Viceroy of India to see how the land lies, ordered for a conference to be held at Mithankot. In February 1871, to deal with the current affairs, Sir H. Durand, Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab; Sir William Merewether, Commissioner of Sind; General Keyes, Commanding the Punjab Frontier Force; Colonel Phayre, Political Superintendent, Upper Sind Frontier; Colonel Graham, Commissioner of Derājāt and Captain Sandeman, Deputy Commissioner of Derā Ghazi Khan were the British representatives in the conference. The conference failed in ironing out the differences between the contending parties and the climate remained almost the same. The Kalāt chiefs had secretly agreed not to agree. In his Minute of the 10th of February, 1871, the Governor of Bombay acknowledged the authority of the Khān of Kalāt over the whole of Baluchistan and attributed to the Brahui chiefs the cause of all disturbances and revolts:

"It should be clear and unmistakeable that we recognise the Khan of Khelat as an independent sovereign with whom we have treaties of alliance, but with whose proceedings we do not desire to interfere beyond giving him friendly advice; that we

1. "Papers relating to the Affairs of Khelat" p. 138.
2. This word is Rais.
3. This is also Rais.

should always counsel clemency and moderation in his dealings with his chiefs; but that in the case of Molla Mahomed, who had been engaged in repeated rebellions against his sovereign and had refused to accept the moderate terms on which pardon for his past offences and restoration of his hereditary property was offered, we see no reason to disapprove of the Khan's conducts[1]."

In 1871 and 1872, the Marris plundered the whole of Kachhī. The Bolān Pass served as the infernal abode of the insurgents. A general anarchy prevailed throughout the country. In 1873, the condition of the State became from bad to worse. The Political Agent, Major Harrison, was withdrawn from Kalāt. Consequently, subsidy was suspended. Captain Sandeman (after Sir Robert Sandeman) during his first mission to Kalāt in 1875, chalked out a *modus vivendi* between the Khān and his chiefs but all ended in vain. After twenty years of calamitous wars between the Khān and his various chiefs, the British statesmen again intermediated. To patch up the matters, on the 14th July 1876, a Grand Darbār was held at Mastung for a final reconciliation. The Jām of Las Belā, Azād Khān of Khārān, and other Brahui chiefs made representation; laid their grievances and demanded that the Khān should observe certain terms which were decidedly favourable to the chiefs and fatal to the Khān. Many of the Brahui chiefs true to their cause and blood but unworthy of their salt demanded their full bargain, they even urged Sir Robert Sandeman to depose the Khān and assume the sovereignty of the entire Khānate. This Darbār was the '*Magna Charta*' of the Kalāt Confederacy. The Khān disagreed to many claims of the Brahui chiefs and flatly refused to the above representations but to some extent many disputes were settled. On December 8th 1876, the Government of India concluded a treaty with the Khān and his chiefs. The terms of the treaty of 1854 were re-affirmed, whereby the Khān agreed to oppose the enemies of Great Britain and abstain from any negotiations with the other foreign States. The third article concluded that the British Government on its part engages to respect the independence of Khelat, and to aid the Khān, in case of need, in the maintenance of a just authority and the protection of his territories from external attack, by such means as the British Government may at the moment deem expedient. By the 4th and 5th articles of the New Treaty, a British Agent was to be established at the Court of the Khān, whose decision was to be considered as final between the disputes of the Khān and his chiefs. In the fourth it was concluded that a suitable representation shall be duly accredited by His Highness to the Government of India. By the 6th article British troops were to be stationed in the Kalāt territory.

The 8th article stipulated for the freedom of trade and the 9th article arranged for an annual subsidy to the Khān of Rupees 1,00,000 and an additional sum of £ 1,400 for the establishment of certain telegraphic posts, etc., and the development of trade routes. Apart from this, terms were also arranged by which Jām Meer Khān was reinstalled on the Jāmate Masnad on his acknowledging the paramount power of the Khān.

1. Baluchistan, No. 2, p. 122.

The British policy

Khudādād Khān knew that soft words and courteous treatment with regard to the chiefs, were unsuited to a savage race like the Brahuis, if unaccompanied by a real power to compel obedience at times demanded. His phenomenal cruelty cannot be a matter of pure chance but it has great relation to the Brahui character. Sir Robert Sandeman remarks, as to how he was asked by His Highness to pursue his policy: 'I have an office', said His Highness, 'filled with letters advising me to pursue the policy I am engaged'—the policy of crushing his Sardars—'but if', he added, 'the British Government, after hearing my representative, give me directions to change this policy, I will do so.' But instead of recognizing the genuine rights of small and weak princedoms, the British followed a captious doctrine of political urgency—a policy advocated by Lytton school of thought. 'Chiefs like the Amir of Kabul and the Khan of Kalat', wrote Sir James Stephen, 'though not dependent upon us in the sense of any definite duties or allegiance to the Queen, must be dealt with on the understanding that they occupy a distinctly inferior position—their inferiority consisting mainly in this, that they are not to be permitted to follow a course of policy which exposes us to danger . . . Relations . . . with these states are all determined by the fact that we are exceedingly powerful and highly civilised, and that they are comparatively weak and half barbarous[1].

The turbulent times gave sufficient opportunity to Mulla Muhammad to destroy the sapless roots of the Khānate tree by means other than war. In 1882, negotiations were made with the Khān to lease Quetta and Bolān Pass for military purposes. Hence-forward Quetta gained enormous importance strategically from trans-Indus frontier up to the sea. From 1887, Quetta practically ceased to be a political part of Kalāt. The winter resort of the Khān used to be Bhāg in Kachhī. In 1893, the Khān caused the death of a sinister figure, the Mastaufi of Bhāg, along with his three sons, all of whom he accused of treachery and secretly corresponding with the British authorities at Jacobābād as well as weaving a web of intrigue with the Sārāwān chiefs to dethrone the Khān and finally were also censured for an attempt on the life of the sovereign. The Khān, though misborn, yet stood upon his dignity amidst all convulsionary conditions. He wrote a letter to the then Viceroy of India, Lord Northbrook, clearly showing his difficulties created by turbulent chiefs who wanted nothing but a puppet ruler—*a roi faineant*—to be moulded and influenced by them. In April 4, 1876, Sir Robert Sandeman visited Kalāt bearing a letter as a *in terrorum* to the Khān from the Viceroy, dated March 20th:

'I have received Your Highness's letter in which you communicate your wish to remain under the protection of the British Government, your urgent desire, to offer explanations in order to prevent a severance of the friendly relations which long existed between Khelat and the British Government.

'My friend, the British Government has always desired the maintenance of friendly relations with the Khelat State, and I would remind Your Highness that the suspension of these relations, which has unhapppily continued for nearly three years past, is the result of Your Highness's own conduct.

1. "History of British India", by P. E. Roberts, p. 437. (Third edition).

'Nevertheless, I am willing to accept Your Highness's communication as evidence of regret for the past and a desire for reconciliation. I have accordingly determined to authorise Colonel Monroe, the officer now in charge of Khelat affairs, to depute Major Sandeman, an officer who possesses my full confidence, and with whom Your Highness is already personally acquainted, for the purpose of conferring with Your Highness upon the affairs of Khelat, and if possible effecting a settlement of all disputes.

'I take this step in the expectation that Your Highness will not fail to co-operate sincerely and heartily with Major Sandeman in the adjustment of all existing differences, whether in respect to your relations with my government or in respect to the chieftains and tribes of Baluchistan.

'By harkening to Major Sandeman's counsels, and acting in conformity with his advice, Your Highness will afford the best proof of the sincerity of your professions, and relieve me from the necessity of taking further measures to secure the tranquillity of the British frontier and the protection of trade[1].'

The above letter forewarned the Khān as to the future designs of the Imperial Government which were not aimed to relieve the Viceroy of his responsibilities on this frontier but it was destined to relieve the Khān of his high office of Khānship. The Viceroy's letter was only a lull before the disastrous storm. The die was already cast. The Khān perceived that the Imperial coils were speedily and surely being twined round the body of the Khānate Corpse. To divert the deluge of doom, he struggled throughout his reign to be on friendly terms with British Government. Inspite of all precautionary measures, his doom carried him on the high road to Needam. Even the political officers of Sind *i.e.* Frere and John Jacob were of the opinion that though the Khān was powerless yet not unfriendly throughout. Inspite of this, even twenty years previous to the Viceroy's letter, John Jacob, a subordinate British functionary at Sind, remarked with an imperious attitude concerning an independent prince that he (Jacob) would have him treated as a humble subordinate but most friendly ally. One can feel, from the very beginning as to how an Imperial power started mocking on the Khudādādian regime, inspite of the fact, that the sovereignty of the Kalāt State and the confirmation of its ruler as a sincere ally of the British Government had been acknowledged several times as manifested by the treaties and declarations from the Imperial quarters, and it will be seen, how a faithful ally and a sovereign ruler was later on most mercilessly tumbled down from the peak of power and prestige to the disgrace of a chained captive. We can fairly mark the Sovereign status of the Kalāt State, and faith of Khudādād Khān towards the British Government, from the actual wordings of the agreement with the Jām of Beyla, dated the 21st December 1861. Here is a part of it:—

'Now the line of coast from the Hubb river to Khos Kulmut or its vicinity, a distance of 240 measured miles, being within the territory of Jam Meer Khan, Chief of Lus-Beyla, the undersigned, Major F. J. Goldsmith, on the part of the British Government, and with the knowledge and consent of its firm ally Khodadad Khān, ruler of the Sovereign State of Khelat.'

1. Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman. His Life and Work 'On our Indian Frontier', by T. H. Thoronton, p. 76.

Another British Statesman, boldly admits Khudādād Khān's help and friendship towards the British in these words: "But what about the alternative scheme? What of the Pisheen valley? To me, I confess, it appears to be a sufficient reply to that point, to say that the Pisheen valley represents the legitimate spoil of the Khan of Khelat. We have benefited by his alliance. It was to his friendship that our being able to establish ourselves without a war at Quettah was due. The well-timed aid which he afforded us during the recent advance has been only imperfectly appreciated in this country. Both General Stewart and General Biddulph have, however, handsomely recognized it. It behoves us to render some very tangible reward for it. Khodadad Khan was not always so warm to the English alliance that, now that he has proved himself stanch, we can afford to disappoint him; and if he does not receive some very tangible reward, he will undoubtedly be disappointed. What reward can we confer upon him save the valley of Pisheen[1]". But the problem of giving a tangible reward, soon found its full expression in a tangible injustice that was to fall to his fate. Instead of rewarding Pishīn valley to Khudādād Khān, he was rewarded the prison room at Pishīn.

Major Sandeman was made agent to the Governor General in Baluchistan and was knighted in consideration of his meritorious services rendered to his country. The Khān sent various epistles concluded in turgid language, in the usual pattern of oriental potentates to the British authorities. Insecure of his doom, he endeavoured but in vain, to secure himself from fortune's blows. The letter reproduced below,addressed in a submissive vein from a sovereign prince to a subordinate British officer (Sir Robert Sandeman), bears clear testimony of the flickering fate of the less fortunate monarch who was assiduous in paying his court to the supreme power that was devotedly bent upon to subvert his fortune:

'Whereas you, my friend, are going on leave to your home, and in accordance with old friendship, came yourself to pay me a farewell visit, permit me to say that although it is great happiness to you to go to your native place after so long a time, yet, for your friends and well-wishers, separation from a friend so faithful and trustworthy is sad indeed. As they say, 'complaint flows from stones at the time of parting friends'.

'It is now full five years since you came to Baluchistan, and devoted yourself to the settlement of the disputes of the frontier tribes, to opening up the trade routes, and providing for the administration of the country and the peace of its inhabitants. Many difficulties, hard as granite rock, stood in your way, like a mountain without supports from the high road; they were such that my tongue cannot express them and the two-tongued pen becomes mute before them. But by the boldness, endurance, and perseverence of you who are desirous of peace, all difficulties were put aside and peace and tranquility were established on all sides.

'Any one who knows aught of the past and present state of this land of Baluchistan can justly appreciate what has happened. The excellence of your management of affairs and your services are as clearly seen as the sun by the British Government and by all people great and small. There is no need to dilate upon them particularly,

1. "Central Asian Questions", p. 89, by Demetrius C. Boulger.

but being deeply indebted to YOUR VALUABLE SERVICES, I with heartfelt sincerity write these words by way of thanks, and I hope you will accept them and considering me as an old and sincere friend will not permit remembrance of me to fade from the page of your recollection, and that, from time to time, when in your own country, you will think of the sincere friend who is ever with you like a second kernel in one almond. May God protect you'.

Seal of Meer Khudadad Khan, Khan of Kalat.

Dated 3rd Muharram, 1297.

On the 8th July 1875, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India sent a despatch to the Right Honourable the Governor General for India in Council, to settle amicably differences in Baluchistan. The despatch contained the following memorable words:—

"Thereby to re-establish a position of affairs desirable in the interests of the British Government, and essential to the continued existence of Khelat as an independent state". Moreover, it laid stress upon the maintenance of 'unity of policy in the Government of this most important frontier'.

Another memorandum was written by Sir Robert Sandeman after consultations with General Sir Steward then en route to Kandahār. The memorandum contained:—

'If Pishin were permanently placed under British protection the safety of the Baluch-Afghan frontier would be secured in a way our present responsibilities absolutely require. The Khan of Khelat has actively aided the British in the present war against the Afghans. This act they will never forget or forgive and it is therefore only right we should in arranging for the future secure his country from the chances of aggression'.

But the question for the Brahui Khān of the day was whether the Kalāt territory was to be saved from an aggression beyond the Khojak Pass or from within the Imperial quarters at British Baluchistan.

In short, all the respective British residents at Kalāt, and other British officers in charge of upper Sind frontier were mainly working on the policy of Lord Elphinstone's Government in 1858, "to right ourselves with the chiefs and people of Beloochistan". This policy strengthened the power of the Brahui Chiefs then leagued with the British diplomats. The Jhālāwān chiefs were in alliance with the Las-Bela ruler, to put the latter on the throne of Kalāt. Azād Khān of Khārān aspired the same ambition. The Sārāwānians followed staunchly the intrigues of Mulla Muhammad Raīsāni. The Khān had practically no outlet but to rely upon Khānzādās (slaves), who, in fact, proved fatal for him. Khudādād Khān was born and bred in a different world—a world in which the ascendency of the house of the slaves-khānzādās was inevitable. They were the acknowledged sheet-anchor of the Khānate, but subsequently proved as the storm that assailed the ship of state. The anchors failed miserably so much so that the Khān himself was anchored at Pishin till his last breath. The Brahui chiefs protested to the British authorities about the hold of the Khānzādās upon the Khān's policy. In fact, this Khānzādā Government had its venom thrown mainly on all the Khānate

rulers, hereunto. The British authority rightly termed the rule of Mehrāb Khān, Naseer Khān II and Khudādād Khān as 'Khanzad Government'.

Khudādād Khān, nevertheless, was always keen to win over the sympathies of the British Government. Sir W. L. Merewether wrote a confidential despatch on 5th November 1874 to the then Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department:—

"The career of the present Khan of Khelat has been a very unfortunate one throughout. At the very outset his liberty of action, if not of person, was threatened by a serious outbreak of chief Sirdars of the country, and endeavours on their part to get him into their power. This caused a division between him and his nobles, which has been kept alive by repeated differences, due it must in justice be said to faults on both sides. The Khan, though by no means a pattern ruler, is equal to the average of general Native princes, and had his worst qualities, suspicion and vindictiveness, not been early worked upon, he would probably have made a fairly decent sovereign. There was one clear point in his character which I can certify to, that for the greater part of his reign he was most earnest in his attachment to the British Government, and to do all that was required of him. Change only occurred when he found support was so ill-advisedly being given to his rebellious barons, which encouraged them in their factious opposition to him . . ."

The chronic civil wars caused wide spread devastation throughout the length and breadth of the country. By a strange fatality Khudādād Khān suffered his dissenting. The only choice for the British was either to help their ally—the Khān, and curb the power of the turbulent chiefs, or to precipitate him from the throne and satisfy the treacherous chiefs. Few of the British authorities were of the opinion that the Khān himself abdicated[1], and some held that he was deposed, arguing that if a more peaceful policy would have been adopted, perhaps, the Khān would have proved as an ally of the British Government. 'That a year and a half after Sir Robert's death, the Khan was deposed for an act of savage barbarity and is now a State prisoner. It is hardly too much to assume that had Sir Robert lived and remained as Governor General's Agent at Quetta, the Khan would still be governing his dominion as the trusted ally of the British Government[2]'.

The grave incident of the murder of the Mastaufi and his sons, gave the British government a weighty cause to deprive the Khān of his regal diadem. All the chiefs except Mehrullah Khān Marri, and Muhammad Khān, the Shāhwānī chief, positively convinced the British authorities their willingness to depose the Khān. The deposition sheet also affixed the common seal of the Brahui chiefs to a deed for winding up the affairs of the Kalātī kingdom in the central Kalāt plateau, reducing it to the position of a semi-independent state for ever. Mehrullah Khān, the Marri chief, refused to sign the deposition sheet and gave a memorable answer which in all the elements of sublimity remains without a parallel in the annals of Baluchistan:

1. A Collection of Treaties, Engagement and Sanads, complied by C. U. Aitchison, Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Volume XI, p. 191.

2. 'Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman', by T. H. Thornton, p. 161.

"Neither I want to blacken my tribe and mine own face, before my countrymen nor before the Almighty when final judgment will be pronounced on the subjects of God's moral government."

After this murder case, in the month of March, of the same year, the Khān was invited to meet at Belpat station the Governor General's agent for Baluchistan. Previous to his arrival two columns were formed, one consisting of Middlesex Regiment, 1/24 Baluchistan Infantry, Jacob's Horse, and Mountain Battery were ordered to occupy Kalāt and to remove the treasury. The other under Colonel Aitken, R. A. consisted of 37th Cavalry, 104 Rifles and two mountain guns. This column reached Belpat, prior to the arrival of the Khān and Colonel Browne, the then Agent to the Governor General was also present there. Meer Azam Jān, the younger son of the Khān, suspected a plot of complicated nature; he forewarned his illustrious father either to refuse the invitation, or to take *coute que coute*, a strong escort with him. But as fate goes to fated end, Khudādād baked through ordeal tests and accustomed from childhood to struggle always in the storms of fate, overthrew the prudent counsel of the prince and left for Belpat without considering the cross and pile of the situation. The Khān was received by the Agent to the Governor General in a square, on three sides of which, troops were stationed facing outward at the arrival of the Khān. He entered the square, without any salute being given to him. The troops suddenly turned 'about' and the Khān soon found that he was in thraldom. He was brought to Quetta but later on was buffeted from place to place in British Baluchistan where he tried the frowns and favours of fortune under strict Imperial guards.

Brahui sovereignty subdued

His capture ranks as one of the romances of great vicissitudes of fortune played on the monarchs of Baluchistan. But the play was not complete, and the entracte of the tragic drama was yet to be completed and prince Azam Jān was destined, only to play the final role. Hearing the disgustful news of his worthy father's capture, with winged feet, he began to mobilise troops to effect the release honourably. The Agent to the Governor General in Baluchistan wrote a letter to Azam Jān on behalf of his father and got it duly signed and sealed reluctantly by the Ex-Khān, urging him to reach Quetta immediately. The letter carried with it, the pathos, sorrows and sentiments of a father who under great compulsion invited his son to share his fate in exile.

The vigilant prince percieved a deep taint of treachery and corruption among the Brahui chiefs who determined for good to leave the setting to court the rising sun. He gauged that all round he was engulfed by *ilias Malorum*. He did what was most laudable to a man who would have been placed in his position amidst a tumultuous and a restless state. The apocalypse had come. There is no fence against fate. One must yield to the times and bear his cross. The helpless prince determined to resign himself to storm and stress. Accepting exile, poverty and execration, he, unshaken, and unseduced left for Quetta and put himself in the cage which was doomed for him. Here in a word, is greatness: Not the greatness which charms but the greatness of constancy, will and character. For a period of more than a decade he shared the desires, fears, resentments and hopes of his ill-starred father. Azam Jān for thirty years, after the death of his father lived in exile with all the princes and princesses of

the blood royal and was sequestrated from place to place in Baluchistan. Within his days of exile, the privations, hardships, came to him not in single spies but in battalions. The injustice which he met by the hands of all those high authorities concerned, would have easily melted, with tenderness and kind compassion, the heart of any body in the world save that of the Brahuis who instead, rejoiced at his sufferings and mocked at their past glory. Yet inspite of all, he never compromised, never faltered and never gave ground. Whatever the future might have brought forth, success or failure—he was sure, that his name will take place among the enduring figures of Kalāt history.

The news of Khudādād's capture spread like wild fire throughout the length and breadth of the country. The curse of political bondage was deeply felt in the heart of every wise man with pricking force. Khudādād's captivity left Baluchistan in a condition of complete torpor. It was a resounding crack in the facade of the Khānate structure and a wanton rupture of the status quo, of all the Baluchistan chiefs. His misfortunes added dire consequences. The last vestige of the Brahui race had been swept away. It was an utter affront to the whole Khānate masterdom that not a single Brahui pulled out his sword from the scabbard to vindicate his freedom at a time when the history, integrity and independence of the country was knocked out mercilessly in a most disgraceful manner. Throughout Baluchistan not a single fire was shot when the last hope of the lost Khānate was made a state prisoner. The only patriotic man, we are told, who wanted to test his strength belonged to the Dombki tribe, a poor mountaineer, seventy years old, girded his sword and shield round his shoulders, started from Lehri and reached Bhāg after five days journey. People of the town ridiculed him and the old man returned back with a heavy heart as he could not shed his blood for his sovereign's sake.

Baluchistan's history will never commend the Brahui chiefs, arrayed in an act of perfidy towards their ruler and country at a time when the fate of the entire race was into a universal tremor. Had Khudādād Khān possessed the qualities of a statesman in addition to his genius of war, he could have surely reconciled the turbulent Brahui chiefs, but the whole state reverted to a condition of chronic anarchy. Sword larded with generosity and generosity forced with justice would have made him undoubtedly a successful ruler.

His complete reliance on the Brahui fidelity paved the way of his tragic fate whence he had under his control, directly or indirectly, six the then Baluch guns—the Marri, Bugti, Dombki, Magassi, Mazārī and Leghārī chiefs. The coincidence of such formidable chiefs had been the marvel of Baluchistan's history. If the doomed Khān, by the least display of statesmanship and by dint of alliances, had employed the potency of the aforesaid chiefs, then his Neronian regime would have rivalled the 'Augustan Age' of Naseer 'The Great' in manifolds. Any government less despotic, combined by the exercise of human laws and supported by sufficient demonstration of policy would have made all the border Baluch tribes on the North West and the North-East of the Khānate, the most splendid frontier garrison in the whole of Asia. The goal for which he struggled was glorious but the means employed were too severe, selfish and impolitic. The situation under which Khudādād Khān was

placed demanded constructive statesmanship and not a negative policy or repression. Whatever virtues a despot may claim, whatever legitimat claims he may assert, he has to depend finally on the strength of his sword to maintain his person and prestige under the pretext of justice against external or internal enemies. He found the full meridian of his glory in the use of his sword against his own men. The time his sword failed, he hurried to his setting and passed his last innings in the prison. Inspite of many weaknesses patent to a despot, Khudādād Khān commanded a unique position among the Khānate dynasty. He was the only Khān who felt the need of a regular army, central treasury and finally followed the policy of curbing the power of the Brahui tribal chiefs.

In exile Khudādād Khān would often say: 'that the wind that blows from Kalāt side, brings me nothing but hatred, and adds nothing but sorrow into disappointment.' Again on one occasion, the Brahui and Baluch Chiefs assembled and left for Pishīn to pay homage to the ex-Khān who still stood upon his pantofles. The latter enquired from the Baluch Chiefs: "Am I a Baluch or a Brahui?". "Your Highness knows better your ethnology", replied one of the chiefs. "Indeed I am a Baluch", said the Khān, "God forbid me, to call myself a Brahui; I shall prefer to live in hell than to be in paradise with the Brahuis". Consequently one of the Brahui chiefs replied, 'May Your Highness know that the Brahuis according to their deeds, will enter both Paradise and Hell, thus Your Highness will not find a place in either of the places'. The acrid reply inflamed his eyes with rage, and in rancorous ire he dispersed the audience. On May 20th, 1909, at Pishīn, Khudādād Khān after a strong reign of thirty seven years, in the seventieth year of his unhappy life, sought refuge in the bowels of the earth. He was inhumed at Pishin where his body remains enshrined not in splendid sarcophagus of alabaster or marble but under a simple grave covered by an ordinary brick dome.

Mahmūd Khān II's accession to the throne and his times

In 1893 at Quetta, the ex-Khān was forced to write a deed renouncing the throne of Kalāt in favour of his son Mahmūd Khān who was secretly preparing to fill the interregnum. Khudādād Khān was the last ruler of his line that wore the kingly diadem of an independent Baluchistan. It was for the first time in the history of the Khānate when the lion was confined, and the Sarāwānian foxes were scoffing with contumelious taunts and jests before the historic gates of the Kalāt Meeree, curiously watching what appearance the son of a distinguished father exhibits. But with the vision of a clairvoyant, they judged the new Prince, an unworthy son of a worthy father. Mahmūd Khān II, is also held responsible in intriguing with the Brahui chiefs for the imprisonment of his father. His treachery was reciprocated by his ascension to the vacant throne. Before a huge gathering of Brahui Chiefs, he assumed the Crown on the 10th of November, 1893.

A Puppetish rule

Pre-destined by the Almighty to be a man of weak nature, he was controlled unfortunately by a galaxy of most ignoble and servile people who added greatest crime to his times. The wheel of State was handed over to a gang of vile intriguers, who caused

the new ruler to dance on their tunes. A puppet ruler who was moulded as easily as clay in the hands of the potter. His seal bore the epithet:

سپاه و تاج تخت و عزوشان را — خداداد از کرم محمود خان را

Later on he replaced it by his own initial. Mahmūd Khān was an incorrigible libertine and maintained an affluent court. He frequently imitated, the lavish prodigies of the orient monarchs so much that eastern extravagance reached its climax in his time. The major part of the state income was consumed on the pomp and pleasure of this fickle prince. He passed his whole life, confined cozily within the four walls of the Kalāt fort, with beautiful damsels who warmed the cockles of his heart and enlivened his senile revels by dancing and singing round him. A phenomenon which made him a true and a wretched burlesque of the rulers of all ages who ever lived in the lap of luxury. This ladier prince, we are told, was in bed and board with three hundred women who were neither conspicuous for their birth nor beauty. He holds the distinction in the Khānate history of having undermined and decimated the integrity of his country. He committed inhuman crimes, and his colleagues displayed their best as well as their worst, and paved the way for the goddess of vengeance. In the very first year of his reign he proved himself to be a bad egg, a quixotic, a quizzical lunatic. He was a mute, stubborn, self-absorbed, irrational man who perceived never what his chiefs and nobles were thinking about him. As a king he displayed his worst side. He became so dependent upon his Wazīr and Dīwān, so completely at the mercy of his professional army, that his arbitrary authority was as often disregarded as enforced : Flushed by kingly airs, benumbed by beastly revels, wavered by a weak mind, entangled by a nervous heart, skewed in politics by a pack of abjects, and all these combined with his personal and impersonal caprices, he gradually became prodigal, then imbecile and finally utterly inert. He was the bloodless remnant of the Kalāt royal blood. In his time there were no roads, no buildings, no parks, no squares in the Kalāt city. It lacked everything that a town or city should boast of. Servile women of the harem were given military titles and inside the Meeree it was a petticoat government. The prestige and power of government reached the lowest water-mark. Respect and fear of the governing power, which is the mainstay of all sound governments, and the cause of the splendour of states, had vanished from minds and hearts of all men, and the country became a venerable prey of self-aggrandisement and ruin. At Sibi, on the 17th February 1903, Naseerābād District calmly slipped away from the State and formed part of British Baluchistan by the agreement entered into by His Highness Mahmūd Khān himself on the one part and by the Honourable Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Agent to the Governor General in Baluchistan, on the other part, subject to the confirmation of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council:—

'Whereas it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both the British Government and His Highness Beglar Begi Mir Mahmud Khan that the Niabat of Nasirabad should be exclusively managed by the Officers of the

British Government, it is hereby agreed and declared as follows:....[1]'

By the confirmation of this treaty, Naseerābād Tahsil (Jhatpat, Usta, etc.) were pruned out of the State and formed a semi-part c f Upper Sind (Jacobabad). Beginning from Quetta, *a point d'appui* for the safeguard of India up to the banks of river Indus, Kalāt had been disconnected from neighbouring powerful Baluch tribes who once politically formed a part of the Kalāt State. The next object of the imperial chase was directed towards the waste lands of Chāgai District situated on the fringe of Afghan highlands. The capture of the district cemented the British domination to the very borders of Afghanistan.

The easy gain of such strategic territories made the British statesmen confident of their stability in Baluchistan. On the 24th of March 1896, the demarcation of the Persian boundary from Kuhak to Koh-i-Malik Siāh was completed by the Perso-British Commission, of which Sir Thomas Holdich was the British Commissioner. In the May of the same year the Afghan-Baluch boundary was finally struck as far as Koh-i-Malik Siāh by Captain MacMahon (afterwards Sir Henry MacMahon). By the decision of the Commission, the western Sanjerānī country practically came under the British administration. Nushki Niābat under the tutelage of the Khānate Government was finally leased by the British Government on an annual quit-rent of Rs. 9,000, on the 1st of July 1899. It passed away practically from the State authorities to that of the British Government 'absolutely and with all rights, privileges, State or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, Civil and Criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls'.

The most productive and strategic parts of Baluchistan have been leased out leaving to the Kalāt ruler only the central, barren mountain-plateau of the Brahui country. The Imperial government stole the cow and gave the horns for charity to the Kalāt ruler. The Brahui state shrank in size and power, but it did not die. In Mahmūd Khān's time the whole of Baluchistan came under the Octopus grip of the British Government. To add to the strange circumstances, Meer Shams Shāh, a Peshāwari gentleman, beginning his career from a low station in 1896, was appointed as Native Assistant at Chaman. In 1913, he mounted on the chair of premiership and held it for nearly seventeen years. By dilatory tactics, he encouraged the effiminacy of the Khān to a degree, most disgraceful to a prince of a dynasty ruling the whole of Baluchistan for nearly two centuries, with vigour and prime. The Wazīr acted as the Khān's alter ego, consequently, the Khān became more than ever, a puppet, who moved at the will of his Wazīr—a puppet graced in all the regalia of high office.

Accession of Khān Azam Jān

After a reign of thirty eight years, Mahmūd Khān, sufficiently old, bid farewell to his vices and was summoned by the angel of death. His patent minister resigned after the expiry of his antic master. Mahmūd Khān left no heir. He had from morganatic marriages several love-children, half-Brahuis and half-unknown. His spurious first born son was Anwar Jān, a chip of the old block. The eyes and wishes of the Brahui chiefs were turned towards the posterity of Mahmūd Khān II, while the legitimate of all the claimants was Prince Nawāb Azam Jān, then

1. See pages 375-576 of the Book 'Frontier and Overseas Expeditions'.

confined at Quetta. The fate had already crowned him King. He impatiently watched the matters that were going on at Kalāt, but never lost his heart nor his zeal. Desperation was no part of his character which was schooled in innumerable chances of fate. The calamities and miseries he suffered, merely strengthened his determination to battle on in the face of destiny and taught him nothing more than defiant and emulous endurance of it. Internal party strifes arose between the Kalāt chiefs. But the sullen night ushered in a shining dawn. Of all the nobles, only the three Baluch chiefs—the Nawāb of Marri, Makurān and Khārān were touched with sympathy for the miseries of Azam Jān and stubbornly supported his case. At last fortune favoured the desiderative prince—'Fame comes only when deserved, and then is as inevitable as destiny for it is destiny'. A noble ruler is the result of a noble need. He assumed the insignia of royalty at Quetta before a splendid Darbār attended by the then Viceroy of India on behalf of His Majesty the King of England. The rapacious designs of the Brahui chiefs crumbled down for ever and the farcical chiefs who recently opposed the question of succession, now admired, adored and paid knee tribute to him. All conformed outwardly while opposed inwardly, as Naaman did in the temple of Rimmon after his conversion to Judaism. Men's true mettle is known in adversity as gold is assayed in fire. A hard-visaged man, a keen observer of things inspite of agedly weaknesses, 'Azam Jān was an invincible Prince who battled throughout his life against an adverse fate. In his days of adversity, he was absorbed in the practice of the abstemious virtues of the medieval times. He had an invincible moral courage and acted unflinchingly up to his persuasions. His personal traits were distinctly marked. He possessed no private means, no extravagant hobbies, scant taste for luxury and was noted for stiff self-control; complete unworldliness; stubborness; humanity. In dress he was frugal. Awful parsimony presided over his dinner table. To conciliate the prejudices of his State, he employed Baluchistanis in the State service and was tolerant of all shades of his people. Within the two years of his reign, he grappled with the ineradicable contumacy of those chiefs who had deceived his revered father and afterwards wrongfully owned State lands as Jāgīrs. In 1933, after a long innings, he entered the eternal land of Nod. The streets of Kalāt soon after his death, thronged with the voice; *Le roi est mort*! *Vive le roi.* Akram Jān, his eldest son and successor fell prey to narcotic luxuries and the soporific virtues of the drugs narcotized his brain permanently during his father's time and the succession thus passed to the next legal claimant.

Ahmad Yār Khān and his times

There is no royal road to the dictates of fate. The succession, therefore, *nemine contradicente* passed to Khān Ahmad Yār Khān, the present ruler. The present Khān assumed the sceptre at Kalāt in September, 1933. He is a kind, benevolent, virtuous, well meaning but lacking in will power, groping, theoretical rather than realistic. He likes the best people but for a time; a man of no ballast, a ruler conceded to more shifts than Eucrates, a mercurial man of cheveril conscience. Being a light-hearted, generous, and extravagent ruler, is marked with a high spirited nervous temperament, sickly sentimental and full with emotions. All his amazements, irresolutions and confusions are the unfortunate crop of his sceptical mind. He is

fast to learn and fast to unlearn. To achieve anything substantial is neither his fate nor his fortune. If he has nerves, they are veins in flower. Failure is the corner stone of his regal career, if at all, there is a chance of failure, then he is the first man to embrace it. His over emphasis on kindness has exposed him to many drawbacks. Safe from nepotism, he is biased by more fatal nepotism, which has turned the wheel of fame against him—the nepotism of order. Nothing emboldens crime so much as mercy. Nicolo Machiavelli, the great Italian historian and stateman, writes in his 'Prince', that a ruler so long as he keeps the ruled united and loyal, ought not to mind the reproach of cruelty and tyranny, because with a few instances he will be more merciful than those who encourage disorder through mercy from which results murder or robbery. The political philosopher further gives an instance that Caisar Borgia was deemed as cruel, notwithstanding his cruelty reconciled the Romagna, organized it and restored it to peace and prosperity. He was more merciful than the Florentine people, who allowed Pistola to be ruined, so as to avoid a reputation for cruelty. The present ruler is a remarkable man as a friend and weak as a foe. Indeed strength alone tends to cruelty and kindness to langour, but the two together procreate solidarity and magnanimity. The orient history can rarely cite cases of rulers being so easy going as this Prince, contrary to the fact that being placed amongst a race to be dominated by sword to compel obedience. He embarks upon the path of a pseudo-liberal policy. Born and fed amidst laxities and luxuries, his fate doomed by the same poisons. With all his demerits and shortcomings, he is the only best surviving figure of his house and feigns to be the only sun over the present Baluch political sky from whom other Baluch satellites should borrow light and warmth. He is the main author of his misfortunes, no doubt, but the process of his setting was accelerated by few other positive factors. His imbecile nature already cowed by the imperious browbeatings of the British statesmen, fell an easy prey to the deceptive devices of his blood whose history goes unbeaten in the field of treachery against their royal house. Secondly as demanded by the British policy, the responsible posts were placed in the hands of aliens, majority of whom entered the boundaries of the State with the idea of hoarding gold and silver and their greed for wealth condoned a multitude of sins. To them a breach of faith and duty was by no means an outrage on their standard of morality which was devoid of all moral scruples.

The Kalāt State, therefore, was neither strong nor prosperous; her people were neither progressive nor patriotic, her agriculture was bad, trade undeveloped, and consequently, the finger of the ignoble doom was placed gravely on the pages of her history. In practice, the State Government had been a collection of officials and inspectors, seldom wise, often foolish, with no more claim to omniscience than the individual they proposed to coerce. The subjects ever remained paralysed like a flock of sheep exposed to a pack of wolves.

Khārān scuffle

In 1939, the Khārān chief hardened his neck upon some boundary settlement with the Kalāt State and finally ventured upon rebellion. In a courland weather, the operations of Khārān began and few sensational successes of the Kalātī forces in a scrimmage were only a *coup de theatre*. The Kalātī forces conscripted from

the towns and tents of the Kalāt state, entered the Khārān boundary through Gwarjak Pass, occupied few deserted posts. On various places rifle shots were hotly exchanged between the adverse forces and in the end of the operation, it was found that the list of casualties caused in the heroic defence of Khārān consisted of one man wounded and one camel and a donkey killed. In the end, the chancellories of British Baluchistan appeared before the scene as mediators and restored temporary peace between the contending parties until any permanent settlement was to be negotiated. A year later on, from the gilded chambers of Delhi, Khārān was declared a separate state under the sway of its domestic tyrant.

The accession of the Kalāt State to Pakistan ends the age-long political tug of war between the tribal chiefs and the Khān. The historic rivalry melts away in colossal failure and dismay. The curtain falls, too on the serial drama shrouding mysteriously the Khānate house, on one side and the 'royal rats', the slaves, on the other. The remnants of the disingenuous sycophants have now nothing to fear or hope, express or impress but to shed paltry tears over their faded glory and impudicity. The proud line of a dynasty dictating the fate of Baluchistan for more than two centuries is now completely sealed for ever. A dynasty created and fostered by the point of sword, vanished away by a stroke of pen. Hitherto, the history of the Khānate house had been the history of Baluchistan. History has closed its pages and has ceased to record any more the tides of both the fortune or misfortune of the Brahui royal house. Dearth of patriotism, dearth of confidence, dearth of unity commingled with dearth of political economy were the main causes that veered the magnanimous course of the Khānate regime towards disintegration and extinction.

The erstwhile ruler has been reduced to the status of a pension holder—idling his time in idle phantasms, and feels himself compelled to walk circumspectly and accordingly, he regards everything and everybody with suspicion. He is now a Khān without subjects and unfurls the flag without any territory. Naseer I left nothing for his successor to conquer in Baluchistan, while the present ruler left nothing for his posterity to lose.

Estimate of the Khānate rule

The Khānate dynasty wonderfully explains the universal cyclic ups and downs which alike affects mighty kings and armies, culture and civilisation. Apparently the history of Kālat is a tumultuous record of the dealings of the Khāns with the Persian and Afghān rulers. Internally it is a confused narrative of the fatal fight for political ascendency between the royal family, the feudal chiefs, the slaves of seraglio and the priestly class. Infact, the Ahmadzai Khāns reigned a territory without a friend and patronized a race who pronounced the name of the royal house and Kalāt with abhorrence. The Kalāt's history shows that in no orient court were intrigues, feuds and tribal jealousies more rife than that of the Khānate. Consequenty, it happened that all the Khānate rulers were worried amidst all their success and timid amidst all their power and prestige. Their rise and existence they owed to the military achievements of their soldier-founders. The Ahmadzai dynasty had neither national nor religious footing in the country. It is generally a matter

of great enterprise to go in detail into the constitutional antiquities of a dynasty or a rule which furnishes neither authentic record, nor laws, nor charters to guide any research. It appears that the Brahui Khāns gradually increased their power based on feudalism which has been conveniently defined "confusion roughly organized." They granted fiefs to the tribal chiefs who furnished in turn specified quota of troops. The feudal system prevalent under the Khān's in Baluchistan was a prototype of the Mongols system. The Mongols gave this system to the Moghul rulers of India who gave fiefs to chiefs and Nawābs in turn of certain quota of troops to be furnished at the time of need. From Moghals this has been copied by the rulers of Kalāt. The Khānate masterdom by nature had been hemmed amidst three powerful kingdoms of the day—Persia, India and Afghanistan which automatically necessitated for a mutual cohesion of the tribes, combining into one confederated state—the ruler of Kalāt as their fountain head while each confederated chief, retaining full powers of jurisdiction within his own limits. The Khān or the ruler was the chief of the chiefs —the Beg of Begs. The Kalāt kingdom had been a politico-military union of diverse races under the Brahui leadership. The government of the Ahmadzai dynasty had been throughout a crude form of an autocracy. It was both patriarchal and Machiavellian —patriarchal in its structural simplicity, and Machiavellian in its completive ingenuity of misdeed. The Khān was the master of the conquered people. In theory his word was final, he fixed and unfixed laws; he appointed the local Nāibs and governors; he declared war and inferred peace. In practice, the Khān was generally influenced by his chiefs and odious officials who would be more cruel and more autocratic than the Khān.

The Khān in Council

The Khān as mentioned before was nominated from the Ahmadzai section of the Kambarānī tribe. The Government of the country, in the later part of the 18th century was practically divided into two geographical rather political divisions which exist hereunto—that of Sārāwān (highland) comprising the territory north east of Kalāt proper extending from the confines of Nushki to the Sibi district; and Jhālāwān (lowland) embracing the territory on the west of Kalāt comprising the districts of Khuzdār and Nāl, bordering Las-Belā. The political divisions of Kalāt do not correspond with the racial types of its populace. The priority of consideration was given to the leader of the Sārāwānian chiefs who would take his seat on the right side of the Khān. On Darbār occasions the Jhālāwān chiefs, with the Zehri chief as their leader used to occupy the left side. The chief of the Marri, Bugti and Dombki tribes though free from the iron yoke of the Khānate, yet paid lip homage to the governing head and seldom would sit in Darbār with the Sārāwānian chiefs but with a certain distinction fit to their fortunes. The whole confederacy was necessarily a Brahui confederacy. Throughout Baluchistan after the Khān, next upstood the Lasbelā ruler, of principalities the prime.

The Army

The tribal army was divided into three wings—the Sārāwān, Jhālāwān and Kalāt Nushki divisions. The last division consisted of the conquered areas. The Sārāwān wing carried the green standard, the Jhālāwān wing was distinguished by the yellow ensign, and the Kalāt Nushki division adopted red banner. The fertile district of

Kach-Gandawā provisioned the Sārāwānian forces while the revenues of Makurān fatted the Jhālāwān contingents. The number of the army deviated according to the popularity and administrative ability of the Khān. The meagre income of the state never admitted the maintenance of a huge standing army. Pottinger 'computed the number of available fighting men at 60,000'. Masson writes that Mehrāb Khān, "nearly destitute of troops in his own pay, was compelled, on the slightest cause for alarm, to appeal to the tribes, who attended or otherwise as suited their whims or convenience." The number of collection of the tribal force depended upon the condition of treasury, the cause of war and the power and prestige of the reigning Khān. For example Naseer Khān I, could raise an army of more than forty thousand; his puppetish successor, Mahmūd Khān I, was valued four thousand strong. Mehrāb Khān commanded few thousands; Khudādād Khān disliked to mobilize troops from the tribesmen though he could have been able to command 10,000 men[1]. He kept under him a regular army of nearly three thousand Durrānī Afghāns imported from Afghanistan, to tame the power of the arrogant tribal chiefs. His successor, Mahmūd Khān II—maintained only two hundred haggard men under his command, without a single tribal levy.

The present Khān inspite of his regular army, conscripted nearly one thousand tribal men on the eve of Khārān expedition. The system of collecting army, naturally, placed the Khāns in a dependent position to the tribal chiefs. The Khān had the power to make or revoke the grant of Jāgīrs or fiefs as the circumstances demanded. His personal advisers, a sort of Privy Council, consisted of three persons, two Chiefs from the Sārāwān and Jhālāwān divisions and the Wazir, sometime addressed as Shāh Ghāsī or Darogha (Chamberlain).

The slaves

The office of the Wazir or as the case may be was hereditary and primarily selected from the Dehwārs or from other families of low extraction, namely, the house-hold slaves deemed as prince's peers. The rank and file were mainly Brahuis and the leaders mostly slaves. The office of the wazirship became the mainspring of all the misfortunes of the Khāns after Naseer Khān I, who fairly observed, the relations and duties of the confederated tribes with regard to the powers of the wazirs and finally that of himself, thus securing for nearly half a century substantial prosperity and peaceful government. The trouble started during the reign of Mehrāb Khān who removed the hereditary Wazir by breaking the constitution observed by sacred conventions. The Khānship, henceforth, became a shuttle-cock between the immediate and direct influence of the Wazir on one side and the indirect but disastrous predominence of the chiefs on the other. The Khān when in league with the chiefs, often lost his head through the Wazir, while in conformity with the latter, often lost his throne. Mehrāb Khān lost both his head and throne through the intrigues of his minister. Naseer II, was poisoned by his Darogha (Chamberlain) and Khudādād Khān lost his honour and fame in his own territory and lost his life in the prison at Pishīn. The Khān of the day fallen on evil days had to choose between two evils, the lesser evil they preferred ever by keeping close link with the Wazir at the cost of the chiefs whose designs often

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. III, 9th edition, p. 303.

predicted the utter ruin of the entire royal family. The chiefs only needed a signal and a leader and the rebellion was ripe. The Khanzādā 'household slaves', brought zero hour always to the life of the Khāns. Their nominal success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their Masters. The patronization of the men of low understanding: cultured and tutored under mean circumstances, attributed much to the main cause of the Khānate misfortunes. The sycophantical serviles always acted as their 'master's voice', and on the contrary, the likes and dislikes of the popular slaves have been the respective choice of the ruler. They functioned as the Khān's eyes and Khān's ears. Owing to the flagitious profligacy of their lives, and the simoniacal arts that they have propitiated the whims of the royal brain and grasped at the masterdom, which a man of the bluest blood never stoops to. Colonel Phayre attributes all the ills existing or said to exist, in Kalāt chiefly to what he terms "Khanzad[1]" system of government. Sir Henry Green reported to the Foreign Office: "Attached to the household of the Khans of Khelat are Khanzadas or household slaves. The Khan has power of life or death over them. They hold the most confidential and important offices about his person, these offices being hereditary[2] . . ."

Sir Merewether stated that, "the murder of good Nusseer Khan, the treacherous attack on the chiefs of September 1857, the reputed murder of Taj Mohammad, the attack on the Sarawan chiefs of last spring are all attributed by public opinion to the Khanzads, . . . After 11 years of work of the Khanzad system of government, nothing but anarchy, confusion, discontent, and indeed all the natural fruits of the crimes with which the reign was inaugurated, prevail . . . The whole of that tract . . . inhabited by Brahooees and Belooch, the subjects of Khelat, many of whose chiefs have been and still are in so-called rebellion against the present Khanzad government[3]". As a rule, society or friendship ought to be engendered of equalness; disproportionate friendships ever terminates in utter disgust. A prince must retain round him a galaxy of noblest men. Rulers should naturally despise those who court them; but respect those who do not give way to them. Ibn-i-Khaldun gives mainly two great causes of the downfall of many oriental monarchs. Firstly, he mentions that majority of the rulers have been excessively credulous and scrupulous beyond need and the second cause, he attributes to the gathering of insidious menials round their courts and commissioning them to high posts. The same thing happened to Sultan Sanjar, the Seljuk emperor, who was captured by Ghuzz spoliators of Khurāsān under Ghazzān. The Seljuk sovereign when asked by one of his dignitaries about the cause of his failure, is said to have replied, 'I gave responsible posts to the little tin gods, and irresponsible stations to most responsible and dignified persons, and, it happened, that the supple slaves could not perform responsible duties and reverend people deemed it below their dignity to assign themselves, wholeheartedly, to low duties and so it resulted in the ruin of all departments, and the country suffered and invited revolts'. The same case, exactly, repeated itself occasionally, throughout the Khānate history. In 1852, the versute Mulla

1. "Papers relating to the Affairs of Khelat", p. 8.
2. Ibid, p. 30.
3. Ibid, p. 52.

Muhammad Hussain explained his treacherous intention to Major Jacob at Jacobābād, to seize for himself the Khānship of Kalāt, but he was bluntly told, he was a villain. Disappointed on several occasions, he sowed the seeds of contention between the Khān and his subjects and ultimately the British. John Jacob alarmed with the intrigues of Muhammad Hussain who 'had the ear of his young master', demanded urgently his dismissal from the post of premiership. Khudādād Khān unheeded his request and he again wrote to the former a letter, dated December 14, 1852.

'Out of friendship and good will alone I write to Your Highness with regard to treachery in your councils and some secret influence at work, which counteracted all I had been endeavouring to effect . . . The letter in reply was not such as a one as was proper or becoming in you to write to me . . . Your late proceedings with regard to these mountain robbers convince me that it would be useless to attempt to aid a government which rejects good advice, despises good order, secretly encourages rapine and bloodshed, If Your Highness prefers the advice of self-interested traitors to that of the British officers, and the friendship of robber tribes to that of the British Government, the road is open to you—you can please yourself. But I shall certainly not recommend any aid be offered to you[1]'.

Majority of the Khāns proved unsuccessful in their effort to reconcile both the parties, the opprobrious slaves—the master-piece trinketers, fully acquainted with the personal weaknesses of the ruler and the oppugnant aristrocracy, who in oragious times, always took undue advantage of their tribal strength.

The Khān could not make war, peace or treaties without consulting his confederate chiefs. He was the court of appeal in all the tribal disputes. The ruler commanded no direct powers of government save in the conquered districts and no regular army was maintained to support his authority. The maintenance of regular Afghān troops by Khudādād Khān constituted one of the causes of the disagreement of his chiefs.

The revenue and bureau of taxes

In cases of revenues, Kalāt has been always a deficient territory consequent to the exclusive privileges conceded to the chiefs of the two of its productive districts, Sarāwān and Jhālāwān from the payment of taxes. The main revenue flowed from Kachhi, Mastung, Shāl, at the rate of one third of produce. Half of the Makurān revenues were also added to the treasury. The central treasury was swelled by the customs derived from the ports of Pasni, Ormara and Karachi (then belonging to the State). Commerce and manufactures were exempted from taxation, inspite of such concessions, industry never flourished to the possible extent. At present, only in case of Kalāt Niābat, duties are levied at various places. In thet ime of Naseer Khān I, the revenue of his kingdom roughly exceeded forty lakhs of rupees; under his successor, it shrank away into half a million. Khudādād Khān poured into his royal treasury more than three millions; his successor, Mahmūd Khān, added at times two millions of rupees. During the regime of the present Khān, it has dwindled into hardly twelve lakhs inspite of the introduction of various forms of duties, 'Sung'

1. 'General John Jacob', by Alexander Innes Shand, P. 184.

levied upon all sorts of imports and exports. It must be remembered as shown by above figures, that the revenues of the Kalātī kingdom varied with the ability and administrative capacity of the ruler. It depended wholly upon the vigour of the ruler. Nevertheless, the treasury was mostly exhausted by the virtues or vices of the ruling head whose laws were grudgingly obeyed, and whose vanities were immediately gratified. Every government has its own drawbacks, every age has its own evils and every individual, however, rich or poor is infested with peculiar personal weaknesses. The Khānate rule from its birth till its final doom (1956 A. D.), has been plucking at straws. The misplay of statesmanship which had been the corner stone of her past atrocities, proved the precursor of her present tragedies.

The tragedy of the Brahuis

For the birth of a culture, an advanced and a well established government is indispensible and such a government can only act as the mainspring for the general prosperity of a nation in all spheres of political, social and economical life. The vaster the kingdom, the greater the improvement under favourable conditions. A systematic form of administration can only raise and authorise a Government to power and exaltation over an immense territory peopled by tenacious and warmonger peoples.

The Brahui confederacy composed of various tribes, has ever lacked in homogeneity and unity. This weak consanguinity favoured them in their racial wreckage which ultimately ended in complete chaos and calamity throughout its history. Divided into various camps, the Brahuis succoured and abetted the jealousy of their rulers; and always irresolute and propensed to any change, favourable or unfavourable, they loved nothing more than to fix and unfix kings. The social contact of the Kalāt confederacy had been due to racial causes which never allowed the races other than Brahuis to fuse completely into one. These facts combined with the hereditary inter-tribal feuds and weaknesses of the Brahui social life with its over-emphasis on individualism, automatically loosened the central gravity and solemnity of the Khānate. The so called Brahui confederacy failed ever, to build an internationally recognized state. The lethargic state of the state machine, on the other hand conveyed social decay and political anarchy throughout the bosom of the country. With the decay of the Brahui national life, decayed the Brahui stamina and morale. None-the-less, the economic factor, should not be ignored or underrated. The imposition of burdensome taxes and the government of provinces for the benefit of the ruling class debased industry and farming. The narrow and bigotted spirit of the Brahuis never admitted the Baluchis in their efforts to build up a national life or culture. We can refer without scruple, the irretrievable national misfortune of the Baluch race to that fatal, ill-omened hour when they were supplanted by the branch of the race, whose origin is as obscure as that of the early ancestors of its ruling house whose reign of more than two hundred years added new pages of disaster and disgrace to the Baluchistan annals. Foreign to the palm of valour and glorious achievements, majori y of their line were reproached both in their life and death, as the cause of public ruin. Neither they had been able to cement the rivalries of their own blood, nor secured the happiness of their subjects, nor the security of their frontiers from foreign arms, which often pursued the Baluch fortune over the Baluch land.

Nevertheless, alien in blood, alien in language, alien in customs and alien to the commitments of justice and verity, this shepherd race, pusillanimous on the throne, pusillanimous on the field, impatient of ease, ambitious of renown and jealous of fortune, crumbled to pieces the sinews of Baluch nationalism, and succeeded tragically in creating a wide political gulf and a national rift between the far-flung Baluch tribes, both within Baluchistan and other Baluch regions under the foreign yoke. Henceforth, a gulf of hatred streamed between the Baluchis and Brahuis. The seeds of hatred had its roots from the common man till the camps of the Khāns. However, "so marked is the social distinction between Baluch and Brahui that when the Khān assembles his forces for war the latter tribes demand, as their right, wheaten flour as a portion of their daily rations, while the Baluch tribes are only entitled to receive that made from a coarse grain called Jowar[1]". Moreover, the Brahuis themselves had no common bond, save that to be found occasionally in common subjection to a strong sceptre. With the exception of few rulers, the Khānate of Kalāt simply meant the confederacy of the central Kalāt Brahui tribes. Few of the Kalāt rulers felt the need of a united Baluchistan, but they had to conquer completely their own race, before they could conquer Baluchis. The misfortune was always for the ruling head, who, if ever, endeavoured to unite the Baluch tribes with the Brahui confederacy, without first uniting the latter. Every Brahui chief as a rule was the deadly enemy of his neighbouring chief and the Khān the common enemy of all. The Brahui chiefs never hailed this object and deemed the state, a purely Brahui monopoly, an idea which became a stumbling block in the way of a national edifice whose bricks, naturally, ought to have been the Baluchis and the Brahuis its cement. Naseer Khān I, the best of the line of Ahmadzai, sagaciously would remark that, "Brahuis are my body and Baluchis its garb whereby it is protected." He left a documentary will for his successor where he states in one place, that, 'so far when you deem yourself as the servant of the people, you will be successful, and the day when you think yourself high and superior to them, then, failure, dismay and ruin is certain". Nothing can veil his egregious national spirit when he was questioned by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī of Kandahār, as to the extent of his territory: "Wherever Baluchis are found", remarked the sagacious Khān, "there extends my rule." Naseer 'the great' handed over a glorious heritage to his descendents but it had fallen into complete decay within few decades. His successor could not control the Kingdom which had become too great—extention had outstripped union. None of the Khāns, succeeding Naseer I, arose and gathered all the Kalāt tribesmen into one fold. His successors were developed and disciplined in the vices of kings and adept in vanities, would permit no tyrants but themselves.

The seed of the political bankruptcy and moral degeneration of the Brahui rule was sown in Mehrāb Khān's time, it sprouted and fostered during Naseer Khān II regime, and bore fruit of disaster and defeat under Khudādād Khān's rule. The sunset, nightfall and disintegration of the kingdom came in quick successive phases. Naseer I, united all, Naseer II endeavoured to maintain it, Khudādād Khān fought

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. III 9th Edition, p. 300.

for the whole of his life to organize a government, Mahmūd Khān II, prepared the coffin for the state, and Ahmad Yār, the present Khān, buried all, and the glory and vanity of his line and race expired. In its flowery youth, the Brahui kingdom broke up with strange rapidity. Thenceforth, the whole of Baluchistan remained as a broken chain, of which the central ring had already broken at Kalāt. As such, the Kalāt state, whether independent or a tributary to Persia or Afghanistan was not a homogeneous state. Her rulers gave no systematic machinery of government but like medieval orient monarchs used their pragmatism as the situation demanded. They blindly conducted their rule simply by political empiricism—this weapon proved for them less favourable and mostly unfavourable. It is, therefore, we find, that neither in the hour of victory nor in the moment of failure, the Brahui Khāns proved to be the master of the situation. The copious narrow mindedness and solecism of national union both among the Brahui rulers and the ruled inveigled the Brahui decay, and the above causes acted mainly as the prolegomena and the epilogue of the Brahui tragedy. Such was the intensity of anarchy, dissatisfaction and plunder that tribe after tribe prosterated before the British flag without any combined struggle to safeguard their integrity. "Throughout the unusual frontier excistement of 1887", Lord Roberts proudly states, "not a shot was fired in Baluchistan, which is under our control, and where our boundary has become practically coterminus with Afghanistan. I trust you will not be persuaded to believe that tribesmen—in event of a foreign invasion—would fight for us, if left to themselves. Why should they? They would have nothing to fear from us, and nothing to gain by siding with us, for we should have nothing to offer them in return. On the contrary they would probably be induced to fight against us by the prestige which an advancing army always carried with it, and by the promises which would be freely given that they share in the plunder of the riches of India."

The History of the Brahui state is a history of tyranny and treason of both the rulers and the ruled against each other. Moreover, it had been a chronicle of setting and upsetting rulers than a history of organic growth. Deceit and distrust formed the front line of Brahui political code. The Ahmadzai rulers always met the face of defeat and ignominy, engineered by their feudal chiefs. The enemies of the Khānate succeeded because the Brahuis suffered from internal dissensions and drifted away from their central power, only to divide themselves into smaller phylarchies. The germs of ruin sprang from within more than from without. 'Abdullah Khan was defeated and killed in the war against the Kalhorahs; Naseer I was defeated by the Tālpurs and Mehrāb Khān was martyred by the British. Naseer II was defeated by the British and poisoned by his minister. Khudādād Khān was brought in chains and 'Azam Jān for thirty five years spent violent doses of life in exile. Tired of the disobliging aristocracy, the dormant claims and dubious policy of Mahmūd Khān II, compelled him to wall himself contended within his Meeree fort for a score and a half years. The constant war of nerves for the political ascendency between the present ruler and his frivolous chiefs brought to deadlock the whole affairs, clearing an easy passage to naked loot for any man who held a shadow of power.

The Kalāt state always remained in a tottered condition, facing internally with racial rivalries of unprecedented rancour. Her political institution, if any, was

meat without salt; the crown a bauble, the religion an establishment, tribal jirgās a debating club and civilization itself but a spasmodic and a fleeting dream. With the exception of Naseer Khān 'the great'. we find all the Brahui rulers nothing but sincere slaves of their lust—lust of heart and mind—women and money. They did nothing worthy of appreciation in the domain of literature, administration or economy. Usually there are three ages of a state. In the youth of a state arms do flourish; in the middle age of the state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state mechanical arts and merchandize. But in this case, it is a strange phenomenon of history, that the Khānate state saw for a span, only the misplay of sword, and wiped out of existence without witnessing the rest of ages.

The despotism of vice patent to the despotic rule of the Khānate, liquidated and suppressed the independent and freedom loving spirit of the race, and favoured the growth of a submissive type of population, tending towards slavish life. Consequently, the Brahui society of today, sans privileges, sans franchise, sans liberties and needs no further disintegration before it could begin to reconstruct itself locally. A host of maladroit individuals consiting of the indigenous populace have briddled the regime to pass under the yoke. Life to the tribal chiefs is complete and full when it is a carnival of putid intrigues. The time is fast approaching when in the hands of the libertine, the virtuous will be captive and constrained, and at the door of the ignoble, the well born will stand sad and bewildered.

The political regeneration of the Brahuis is but a vain surmise and a vague ebullition of feeling. There are some ambitious youths who covet a Brahui revival, with the Khān at the head,—a last epoch of the lost Brahui hegemony. The political disintegration of the Brahuis resembles like a dismembered machine. Where are the skilled mechanics to reassemble and readjust it? Before the mechanics be found, the parts will be lost. The Brahui polity has already met its doom. The only course open to the Brahuis of the day is to return to the stern autocracy of the 19th century, seethe under its curses and feel the helm or be absorbed in a more virile neighbouring race or province. At the best it is a choice of evils.

CHAPTER V

SIND UNDER THE TALPUR MEERS

Settlement of Baluchis in Sind and cultural fusion

When the 12th century drew to its close, a body of Baluchis entered Sind via Makurān and allied themselves with the local tribes of the place. During the 13th century the Baluchis were employed by Doda IV, the Sumrah[1] ruler of Sind against his adversaries. We find; even before and after Doda IV, Baluchis allied with Sudha and Dehareja jats under the rule of Khafīf and 'Umar, the Sumrah rulers[2]. The first great exodus of the Baluch race towards Sind and Punjab took place during the early quarters of the sixteenth century. Since then a great stream of Baluch wanderers have been wont to trickle along the upper side of Sind and found an abode in the fertile regions of that province. Their advent coincides with the disturbances consequent to the fall of Pathān Empire in India and the establishment of the Timuride dynasty. During the Moghul ascendency over India, the independant Arghūn rulers of Sind, as an instrument of policy granted big Jāgīrs to the malcontent Baluchis, when all other means failed to pacify their inroads, notwithstanding, the physical pressure being put upon them which, too, proved confessedly impolitic. Sind under the Kalhorah's acknowledged their dependency on the Moghul Crown of India, and on several occasions, alarm was sounded in the Imperial quarters of Delhi about the indiscriminate depredations of Baluchis in that region. Emperor Shāh Jehān even immersed in mundanity was urged to marshal forces against the intruders. Emperor Aurangzeb, to march with the times, sent his son Prince M'uīz-ud-Dīn to assist Hafizullah Khān son of Nāzim of Thatha district where twelve thousand Baluchis carried fire and sword in the neighbouring villages. Near the suburbs of Thatha, the Moghul pride and vigour was put to a severe test. After a hot contested battle, the Baluchis gathered up their heels, leaving behind one thousand dead[3]. The Kalhorahs patronised Baluchis in the political sphere but it was regarded as a confession of weakness on the part of the rulers. The tribesmen resorted with colossal strides to plundering, as a means of extorting blackmail and other undue advantages. Ultimately, at the close of the 18th century, the Kalhorah structure was laid flat to the ground and Sind, thenceforth, became a Baluch phylarchy under different families of the Tālpur house. The western part of the province was constantly flooded by the

1. After the fall of the Khilji dynasty, Ghāzi Malik known as Ghiyās-ud-Dīn became the Emperor of India. During his reign the Sumrahs asserted their independence over Sind. The Sindi Historian 'Ali Sher ascribes their origin to certain Arab families from Samrah, who had settled in Sind during the 'Abbasid Caliphate. But this version seems to be incorrect as the very name of their early rulers like Sumra, Doda, Sanghar Bhanghar depicts otherwise. They are decidedly of Indian origin.
2. The Encyclopaedia of Islam edited by Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, p. 635.
3. Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb, Vol. II, by Mohammad Hāshim Khān known as Khāfi Khān.

Baluchis under the Khānate rule when its boundaries practically embraced the Karachi port on one side and the fertile district of Shikārpur on its southern side. The whole belt commencing from Khāngarh (Jacobābād) running through Larkāna, finally, emerging into the Dādū District, was purely a Baluch-Brahui belt. The cultural conflict between Sindis and the Baluchis clashed strongly against each other during the Tālpur regime, ultimately, developing into an interesting blend of Baluch, Jat and Hindu element which was neither purely Baluch in character nor Indian wholly. The degree of culture attained by the Baluchis was undoubtedly lower than that attained by the former dynasties. The Baluchis introduced a serious change in their language, while, the conquered masses engrafted in them many of the traditions and customs peculiar to the new migrants. With the establishment of the Tālpur rule over the whole of the Sind, we begin to step on a firm historical ground regarding the settlement of the race in the province. Those, who, owing to their wild incursions were disallowed to live even under tents, were destined to be honoured and homaged under magnificent palaces. Instead of riding on mares, they rode on ornamental palanquins. Once shepherds of cattle, now shepherded men; at times craved for booty and plunder, now cavilled and coquetted with princely vanities over courses of the most refined and epicurean tastes, served in large ornamented dishes of gold and silver, to regale the taste and the eyes. In short, the rebels of yesterday were to be the kings of tomorrow.

Origin of Tālpurs

The Tālpurs[1] are identified with Tālbur clan of the Leghāri and by some, the significance of the tribal name is supposed to be derived from an eponymic Tālbur, one of the descendants of Bulo, the ancestor of the Buledi tribe. Another historian of meagre reputation wrongly classes them as "a branch of the Noomries of Baluchistan who now style themselves Afghans, but who are, in fact, one of the most numerous of the Gete or Jit colonies from central Asia[2]. The Tālpurs are decidedly Baluch of the bluest blood[3]. The Tālpurs do not seem to have held an important tribal position during the Chākarian era. The tribal name of the Meers appear on the stage of tribal history from the pale of their rule. The Tālpurs did not contribute as a separate tribe, but as rulers, they added much to the Baluch prestige and traditional culture. Their prowess as a powerful tribe has never been brought to test by any inter-tribal feuds which were deemed as a touchstone in testing the power, integrity and swordsmanship of a tribe. Usually strength of arms carried a tribe to its zenith and its absence dropped it to the lowest scale of both military and social honour. When the eighteenth century had run half its courses the Afghans founded a short lived empire, carved out on one side at the cost of the Nādirian Persia whose cavalcade and victorious arch-bearing Afshārs once burried beneath their track, records of many contemporary races and compelled many orient knights to bow and yield before their

1. Some of the historians have seemingly committed to writing, a wrong opinion about Tālpur origin. They class them as of Indian origin. See 'Malcom's history of Persia', edited by Col. M. H. Court, p. 84.

2. "Annals of Rajasthan", by Tod.

3. "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan", by Raverty, p. 624.

insuperable might. Simultaneously on the other side the Afghan destiny mocked at the faded glory of Timur's descendants at the historic city of Delhi. The off shoots of the stupendous Tartar conqueror were utterly immersed in foolish fantasies at a time when disintegration reigned supreme throughout India. This quarter of the century gave birth to many fortune seekers who shaped their destinies according to the tide of time in a disunited and divided India with varying boundaries, crumbling and bowing before every blow of wind that brought with it the message of the approach of a victorious general ready to subvert her history.

The shattering of the neoterically founded Afghan Empire, immediately gave to a vagrant race of a vague faith, the unruly Sikhs, a breath of spring in the remote corner of the Punjāb where an one-eyed man arose to power and filled the Punjāb with rapine and murder whereupon whose short lived rule, became a watchword signifying throughout India, tyranny and gross injustice. The same century, which unhesitatingly allured and tempted the British towards all the corners of India with promises hardly super-natural in the building of an empire in the east, opened a new vista to the nomadic Baluchis in the Indus valley. It procured few pages of the Indian history vacant for the Tālpurs to be enlisted among the records of men who wielded the destinies of people in the land of Sindhu.

Disintegration of the Kalhorah rule and rise of Tālpurs

The embers of a fire which the Kalhorah rulers found since decades in their court was suddenly kindled by the Tālpurs. Consequently, its flames unexpectedly bursted out like a thunder bolt and manifested itself in the shape of a revolution. The fire was soon put down by those who inflamed it, the fuel consequent to it, consisted of the skulls and corpses of the Kalhorah ruling family.

The close of the eighteenth century was a dawn for the Baluch race in the land of fertile Indus, following the extremely long night that fell after the death of mighty Chākar. The advent of the Tālpur Baluchis ushers in a new and notable era in the history of the Baluch race and that of Sind. Sword instead of destiny helped the Tālpurs to stream their destiny through convulsive times. Various other strong tribes migrated to Sind under the Tālpur Meers, but their valour never carried them far off besides successful raids and brigandage; they depended more on their physical feats than on mental attainments—sword seldom accompanied with intellect. The Tālpurs appeared before the Kalhorah court as their servants, then as their ally and finally as their master. Under the last rulers of the Kalhorah dynasty, Sind presented a horrible aspect of revolution. Misfortune was casting its grim shadow ahead. Anarchy reached the point of tension. The process of pulverization was inevitable. Her administrative system broke down, and its break down brought disastrous chaos. The royal diadem, again, hazarded its fate to be decided by the crossing of swords. It required a new, but a formidable head to be graced with. Time demanded a man worthy of it. Fate pushed forward a Tālpur man armed with prestige, who carrying in his person, power and prowess, approached the scene and took into his hands the sceptre of the disturbed reign. Destiny had already linked this heroe's fortune with those of Sind. This man was Meer Fateh 'Alī Khān.

The establishment of the Kalhorah[1] influence over Sind was followed by disquieting events mainly engineered by the same family. We are not concerned here as to how the Kalhoras came to power. The connecting link of the Tālpur with them and the formers rule is the main theme of the present subject. The story of Tālpurs is soon told. Miān Yār Muhammad Kalhorah after many vicissitude of fortune succeeded in having his bid over Sind affairs. The intervening period beginning from the decline of the Kalhorah's to the rise of the Tālpurs was marked with turmoils and reactionary movements. The previous invested self-interests among the interested parties deluged the land with utter chaos and dismay. The racial ambitions, personal jealousies, and pitiful covetousness of the great feudal chiefs broke mercilessly and the central integrity once feared and respected was mocked at publicly. Prince Muhammad M'uīz-ud-Dīn son of Emperor Bahādur Shāh came himself to Sind and stopped at Bakhar. The fort of Siwi (Sibi) with its dependencies were conferred on Miān Yār Muhammad with the title of "Khudāyār Khan[2]". The Prince next sent Meer Shāhdād Tālpur Baluch to settle the disturbed affairs of the Derājāt territory, where he displayed incomparable bravery and statesmanship in settling internal disputes. Consequently, the land of Pat Bārān was bestowed to him as Jāgīr by the Prince. This Meer Shāhdād is the first ancestor of the Tālpurs[3]. Crawling into the favour of Miān Yār Muhammad, Shāhdād became his chief councillor and attained great importance in state affairs. The quick enthroning and dethroning of various Kalhorah rulers was followed by rapid and grave reprisals.

Māin Muhammad 'Atur Khān when deposed from the throne, again sought the help of the imperial Afghan forces in 1759 A.D. against Miān Ghulām Shāh, the then ruler of Sind who ascended on the throne after Muhammad Murād son of Nūr Muhammad[4]. Miān Ghulām Shāh assumed the royal sceptre through the assistance of Bahrām son of Meer Shāhdād. Ghulām Shāh after a stormy reign of fifteen years was killed in 1185 A.H. (1771 A.D.) while superintending the building of the fortress of Hyderābād. His son Miān Muhammad Sarfarāz Khān was set as his successor.

1. The origin of Kalhorah's has taken a controversial character. Postans, in his "Personal observations on Sindh", falls into the error of calling the ancestors of the Kalhora's as "a Biluchi of the tribe of Kalora and of the Abbaside family". There is no such Baluch tribe as 'Abbasid Baluchis. Elphinstone says, "the tribe of Calhora, which I believe belongs to the south of Persia". Dr. J. Burnes, in his "visit to the Court of Sinde", writes, that "the house of Calora claimed lineage from the princely blood of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet; but its greatness in Sinde is traced to Adam Shah, a native of Belochistan, who gained a high influence from the reputed sanctity of his character . . ." Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhorah can be rightly addressed ss the flower of the race. He got the investitures for the confirmation of his political privileges both from the Delhi and Persian Courts. The Kalhora's are, in fact, Jats and were famed for thier spiritual character rather than political status.

2. Khawajah 'Abdul Karim, one of the distinguished man in the retinue of Nadir, states that this, "flower of the family", Khudāyār, was of dark complexion and afflicted with leprosy, and was Subedar of Sind on the part of the Badshah of Hindustan, and held in great veneration due to his virtues and was deemed as a spiritual leader by the Baluchis.

3. Meer Shāhdād Khān was the son of Hotak Khān who was the son of Suleymān Khān. Hotak Khān's seven brothers, one of whom was Mānik Khān—the great grandfather of Mānikāni Meers of Meerpur Khās. Meer Shāhdād's two sons, Meer Chākar Khān and Meer Bahrām Khān became the great grandfathers respectively of the Khairpūr and Hyderābād Meers. Meer Shāhdād son of Hotak Khān is entombed near Shāhpur in the Sakrand Taluks. The village is named Kubā Shāhdād. The tomb bears the date of 2nd Rajjib, 1147 A.H. (1734 A.D.).

4. "Picturesque sketches in India", by Shahāmat 'Alī.

Meer Bahrām Tālpur continued as his chief Councillor but due to his old age, his son Bijār took seat in the councilhall. The nefarious Rājah Līkhī, one of the chief Courtiers of the Miān, levelled at the moon and envying the shining fate of the Meers began to gall the ruler. The Kalhorah chief perceived the mischievous character of the Rājah but rulers are often jealous of their shadows and often listen to those double faced courtiers who bring their fall. Orient monarchs consider the cost but not the result. Deaf as a door-nail to the consequences, the Miān gave way to the vile whispering of Līkhī. Diwān Gidūmāl, the seasoned secretary of the ruling family, intervened and endeavored to reconcile the Master with his duke. "My Master", said the Diwān, "pay no attention to what these mischievous people tell you. Those who fan the fire very closely, run back, when it kindles into a blaze. Do not be rash and hasty, to make an enemy of such a party, or else it will end in a revolt and you will come to grief. If you have any fear of the Mīr's doings, be more kind and obliging to him. This will compel him to be a staunch adherent of yours". But the arrows of fate were against the Miān, and pains and distress were the interest paid for his negligence. Bahrām perceived coolness in his master's behavious and remarked to his twin sons, Bijār and Sobdār: "My sons, we are soon to receive our lot at the hands of our Master. You know we have sworn on the Qurān to be faithful to him and he has sworn to be kind to us. If, now, without any reason he causes some harm to us, we must quietly bear it, leaving him to the punishment of God. Now is my wish, that for some time you leave me to my fate and go somewhere else. This act may remove ill will, and restore good feelings in our master's mind. But if the matter comes to the worst, still you will be safe." Consequently Bijār soon set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. A little later, in the year 1774 A.D. Bahrām along with his son, Sobdār, came to pay their respects to Miān Muhammad Sarfrāz. Bahrām gave his sword to a boy servant named Arzī, and continued a long discourse with Allah Baksh son of Rājah Līkhī[1]. The bestial Miān gave a letter to Bahrām stating to have come from his son Bijār then at Mascat. The old Meer putting on his spectacles started to read the letter, when a servant named Hussain gave a sudden blow with his sword and cleft the reverend head from the reverend shoulders. Slaughter breeds murder when it goes too far. Some of the followers of Miān hurried outside to kill Sobdār, who before surrendering his life, took the life of Allah Bakhsh along with other assailants. Muhammad 'Azīm, the author of 'Fatehnāmeh', condemns this sorded action of Hussain in these words: "Look to the sacred name", continues he, "and to the impure person bearing it. How can he be addressed Hussain when he behaved as Yazīd." Sobdār died leaving four young sons, viz., Fateh 'Alī Khān, Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Karam 'Alī Khān and Murād 'Alī Khān. Meer Fateh Khān[2] after this horrific tragedy attacked the fort of Khudādād with a handful of Baluchis and conquered the fort. Miān Sarfrāz showed a clean pair of heels and refuged at Hyderābād. At the same time in 1775 A.D. Mahmūd Khān brother of Sarfrāz was placed on the Masnad. Fateh Khān advanced towards Hyderābād and captured it. The keys of the treasury were presented to him but

1. 'Frerenāmeh' by Meer Yār Muhammad Khān Tālpur.

2. Hotak Khān and Mānik Khān were brothers. Meer Shāhdād was the son of former and Meer Allahyār that of the latter. Bahrām was son of Shāhdād and Masu Khān son of Allahyār. Fateh Khān was the son of Masu Khān. Thus Fateh Khān and Sobdār were distant cousins.

he refused and said, "Far be it from me, that I should call myself a ruler. Meer Bijār is our chief, and when he returns back, he will impart full justice to his foes. What I did, is not to amass treasure but to cool the fire of my heart." In the meantime Rājah Likhī entered into conspiracy with his friends, deposed Miān Mahmūd Khān in 1777 A.D. and raised to the throne Miān Ghulām Nabī Khān son of Miān Nūr Muhammad. Meanwhile Bijār returned from Mecca via Karachi, then under Naseer Khān I, the ruler of Kalāt. Fired with zeal of vengeance, Bijār seized the fort of 'Umarkot from Khosas but soon, evacuated it through the contrivance of Tājah Likhī. On one heinous trick depends the general fate. Led by the mean artifices of Tājah Likhī, Miān Ghulām Nabī, in the beginning of 1778 A.D. collected a huge force of thirty thousand to war against Bijār. This army was further strengthened by the contingents of Afghans, Khosas and Jatoī Baluchis. Bijār had only six thousand Baluchis under his command. At Lānyārī, in the Shāhdādpur Taluka, the adverse forces met to decide the storms of fate. This important day, big with the fate, struck heavily on both the sides. Peroz Pitāfī, the Commander of the Miān's forces, fell down and his fall despatched the whole army into helpless confusion. Amidst the disorder, Ghulām Nabī decided to present himself as a prisoner in the hands of the Meer but Tājah Likhī perceiving his master's intention, drew his sword and murdered him, censuring, "we knew thine object and thou wert in the very beginning favourably inclined to the Meers, as thou behaved always against us, so thou art no more required for this high position." In the heat of battle, Bijār found the dead corpse of Miān and sent it richly coffined to Hyderābād. Treacher and coward both, Tājah Likhī, laid down his arms but not his wiles. Some of the Meer's men dogged his footsteps and in a trice made him a captive. At Khudādād, Bijār sent for Miān 'Abdunnabi brother of Ghulām Nabī to fill the vacant throne. At the shrine of Makhdūm Nūh, near the town of Hālah Kandi, the dominion of Sind was vested in him, with Bijār as his chief minister.

King Timur Shāh's army invades Sind —defeated by Meer Bijār

As the kingly diadem in Sind changed from head to head, so the revenue of the province diminished the royal treasury considerably, and the annual tribute to the king of Kabul was paid irregularly. The Baluch ascendency in the political affairs of Sind now became clear as midday sun and the Kabul ruler perceived the severance of Sind from the Afghan list of satellites. "There is no greater wisdom," says Bacon, "than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things". The Afghan despot alarmed by the secret reports, despatched to Sind an army of ten thousand Dūrranī and Bābar Afghans commanded by Mahfūz Khān along with 'Izzatyār Khān, then as a royal hostage and a relative of Miān 'Abdunnabī. Qamar-ud-Dīn, the king's governor for the Derājāt territory, was directed to meet the expenses of the expedition besides the reinforcement of Afghans and Baluchis to accompany Mahfūz Khān. Another royal order was despatched to the mighty peers of his realm, the rulers of Bahāwalpur and Kalāt to assist 'Izzatyār to the last trench. The combined army of the Afghans, Brahuīs and Bahāwalpuris numbered thirty thousand cream of the cream. Few days before the fight, 'Izzatyār Khān addressed a letter to Meer Bijār, "O, brave chief, you must know that 'Abdunnabi' has been set aside by the king and I am appointed in his

place. If you come and pay allegiance to me you will continue as the fortunate possessor of administrative powers as hitherto. I am not a stranger. I am a grandson of Khudāyār Khān. But if you will not submit and seek to fight with me, then you will gain nothing and cause the death of many innocent people for nothing[1]." Bijār sent the reply and its real issue was written and exhibited in character of blood and fire over the plains of Shikārpur. "I am obliged to you", replied Bijār, "for the letter. You have taken the trouble of coming to Sind as a claimant to the throne, but you must know, that you come to fight with your own uncle, who is like a father to you. I am pledged to remain faithful to him. Victory and defeat are in the hands of God. I am bound to stand by Miān 'Abdunnabi. I shall soon be with you, along with my master, and so good bye for the present[2]." Bijār marshalled his swordsmen numbering 18,000. With veteran skill, he reached Rohri and crossed the river by making a bridge of two hundred boats. After a journey of two days the Meer's army along with Miān 'Abdunnabi reached Shikārpur where the enemy's forces already encamped.

The Afghans who had victoriously tested their strength against the chivalry of India and Persia during the past few decades; once again puffed up with the same prestige, set their fate upon a cast and hazarded their history against the Baluchis who were far superior to them in many respects, blood and bravery. For the first time in the Asian history, the ruddy Afghans, as a race, challenged the Baluchis—the venerable descendants of the ancient Kaldians, who had once led the destinies of the Afro-Asian races three thousand years back both by pen and sword. This glorious battlefield marks as one of the great reverses of Sind history; for the Sind province which obeyed for generations as the most favourable booty ground for Afghans, now turns her arms against them under a verile race, hitherto, less known to the enterprizing Afghans. Like the medieval mode of warfare, the battle started with sounding of martial music from both the sides. The Afghan forces challenged the Baluchis in a beard to beard fight. The fight started with spear and shield. In a moment the battlefield broke into a roaring line of fire. The deluge of destruction reached its epic form. It seemed, as if, there was a battle between lions on one side and tigers on the other.[3] The ebb and flow of battle brought the adverse forces too close, and the use of sword became inevitable. Master of the sword, the Baluchis mastered the field. The Afghan forces gave way and were succeeded by the Khosa allies, all of whom were swooped and offered to the sword. The whole army of Mahfūz Khān was routed. He, along with 'Izzatyār Khān saved themselves by galloping away on horses, leaving behind all the tents, elephants and other luggage to the mercy of the victorious Baluchis. The Afghan chiefs along with the governor of Shikārpur took refuge within the castled town. Bijār and 'Abdunnabī laid seige to the fort, but the former ordered his men not to plunder or murder any man residing inside the fort. "This", said the Meer, "is the city of the king and we are all his servants." The next day, the Afghan chief sought pardon and Bijār dismissed them with robes of honour.

1. 'History of Sind' by M. Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Vol. II, p. 176.
2. Ibid, pp. 176, 177.
3. "Fatehnāmeh", by Muhammad 'Azīm.

Defeated in his designs, and disappointed in his hopes, the Afghan sovereign was reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending his territory and prestige against the rising fottunes of the Tālpurs; he, therefore, started himself for Sind. Reaching Shikārpur, he started for Rohri where Bijār already threw a bridge of boats on the river for the passage of the king and at the same time sent a letter to the latter. The letter and his past services allayed much the royal anger. The Meer received the king with thirty thousand Baluchis. A train of happy sentiments exchanged between the two. After confirming 'Abdunnabī as the ruler of Sind, he returned back to Afghanistan.

Treacherous murder of Bijār

In the year 1781 A.D. two Hindu, Rāthor Rājpūts, disguised as envoys from the Rājah of Jodhpur, came to 'Abdunnabī's court. Fox in stealth and wolf in greediness, the light-fingered Miān entered into a conspiracy with the Jodhpur ruler to murder Bijār. The feigned envoys during the course of an interview with the Meer, made a dastardly attack on him, who receiving a fatal wound, took up his sword and hacked into pieces both the envoys along with their two servants, but the assassins object was too fulfilled. The warm life came issuing through the wound and the wisest, bravest and the noblest man of Sind trespassed out of this uncertain world with his last words : "The same fate has attended me which attended my father, brother and the grandsons of the Holy Prophet viz; Hasan and Hussain."

Bijār was succeeded by his son 'Abdullah' as head of the Baluch tribes. By name 'Abdunnabī (servant of the Prophet), this Kalhorah scarecrow was, in fact, the servant of devil. Perfidious by profession and governed by the ambition and treachery of tyrants, he believed the flattering lips that got him stung many a time. He knew how to play the fox but never enacted the lion. His tragic rule, the outcome of his own improbity, impolicy and ineptitude marks one of the darkest chapter of the Kalhorah history. He, with the necessary provisions and gold loaded on camels started for Kalāt along with two hundred of his confidential servants and sent his sons to the Rājah of Jodhpur. Meer 'Abdullah, a man of eternal self-sacrifice, a noble son of a noble father, took Miān's fault as a venial slip. He forgot and forgave the hideous perfidy of the Kalhorah fox, only to lose his life. He assembled his relatives, and designed to convince Miān of their future fidelity. The Baluch peers sent one of their most reliable and valiant servitors with a Holy Qurān to the Miān, conveying the message: "The word of God is between you and us, and we swear by it that we have no suspicions against you and that we mean you no harm. Moreover, some of your councillors are very mischievous, and though they appear to be your friends, are really your enemies. Beware of them. They take you from door to door and make you a beggar before strangers. Avoid them and return to your own country and rule it as before. You shall never find loyal men like us in the whole world."

Defeat of the Brahuis and Rājpūts

Dancing on other's piping, the message proved effectless on his guilty mind, and he began to play fast and loose with Meer 'Abdullah who placed Miān Sādik 'Alī Khān, a kinsman of the late ruler, on the throne. The clouds of horror again seized the disturbed sky of Sind. The ruler of Jodhpur, Bāje Sing's forces on one side

and the Kalāti ruler, Naseer Khān's forces on the other appeared over Sind to paint the vast scene of strife. 'Abdunnabī himself took the command of the mercenary forces of Nuhmardi. Both the Rājpūt and the Brahui ruler designed to set the Kalhorah bugbear to frighten the Sindis. 'Abdullah, at the head of his veteran Baluchis left Khudābād along with Sādik 'Alī Khān. A little beyond Khudābād, the Meer's army encountered Rāthor Rājpūts. The advance guard of the Baluchis consisting of the Nizāmāni, Jamāli and Leghāri tribes was commanded by Meer Fateh Khān, with Mirzo Fakīr known as 'Sultān Jang' and his son Bāghah as his lieutenants. The flanks were commanded by Fateh 'Alī Khān and Suhrāb Khān and the central division by 'Abdullah' himself. The whole Baluch army with national pyrrhic dance, the cries of war, and the beatings of drums, moved like one compact mass. The Rājpūts according to their patent mode of warfare arranged themselves in serried lines with glittering swords. The fight started with the roaring of guns spitting furious fires on the ranks of either armies. The adverse forces came close and the fury of the Semitic sword, on the first onset, fell heavily on the Aryan chivalry. The two wings of the army under Fateh 'Alī Khān broke the Rājpūt army and pierced through the central division routing ranks and files of the enemy. The battlefield turned into a field of blood. Contesting over every inch of the ground, the worshippers of goddess cow could no longer bear the might of the worshippers of the Almighty. The whole Rājpūt army in the general stampede left behind a large number of dead and wounded together with a large supply of provisions. Armlets made of solid gold were removed from the arms of the dead Rājpūts[1]. Hardly the army of Meer had taken rest whence 'Abdullah received a letter from Fateh 'Alī Khān's brother, Ghulām 'Alī about 'Abdunnabī's arrival near Ladkānah, with a combined force mustered from the Brahuis, Jatoīs, Jhinjans, Khosas and Nuhmardis sent by Naseer Khān I of Kalāt, under the Command of Zarak, his son in law. After a forced march, at Chālak, the Meer's army grappled with the allied Brahui legions. At the first onslaught 'Abdunnabī's troops constringed the Baluch column commanded by Fateh Khān then wounded in the last Rājpūt battle. In the fury of fight, 'Abdullah dismounted from his horse, sword in hand attacked bolt-upright in the centre of the enemy and within a short time, the game was up. The enemy fled in great tumult and the omnipatient Meer carried the day. Zarak Brahui, Mehrāb Jatoī and a number of other chiefs lay dead on the battelfield. Inflated and astrut with self-conceit, 'Abdunnabī hurried back to Kalāt from where he wrote a courteous, and even an insinuating letter with promises of immense wealth to Sardār Madad Khān, the Afghān commander, who had recently come to Bahāwalpur with a huge Afghan army. Forcing with gifts, the Miān won his wanton heart. The Afghan general, though more, it seemed, inflamed with lust than rage. Like a demon reanimated, Madad Khān, again joined hands with the fresh Brahui and Nuhmardi forces, to find new fields of military honours in Sind. The Baluchis stood like a rock behind their leader. The Afghan had previously seen strange reverses of fate in their wars against the redoubtable Baluchis. The bravery of the Baluchis and the generalship of the Meers was an article of faith with his foes. Madad Khān cowed by the mighty preparation of his adversary, sought to decide the contention amicably

1. 'Frerenāmeh' by Yār Muhammad Khān Tālpur.

instead of arms. "I know," he wrote to the Meer, "that you, one and all, are brave warriors and wise men, 'Abdunnabi is a fool and a mischievous person and is assisted by men who are false and treacherous. I have already punished them by putting three of them in chains. My request is that you should go back to your native places. I am coming with these fools to Khudābād as they say they have burried their treasures in the fort of Haidarābād. I know it is a lie and I wish to prove it so. For, then, I shall be able to report against them to the King and speak in your favour. I swear that I consider you all my friends and have no idea of fighting with you[1]." The Meer received the message and decorated the envoys with rich robes of honour. "We are faithful servitors to the King", he replied, "and imagine you as our friend, or rather a near relative, in the capacity of an uncle. Some malignant people have back bited us to the king but we cherish hopes that you will set the matter right. As you advise we are prepared to retreat, but before receiving your message we had avowed not to turn our backs from our adversaries. As long as your armies remain in opposition to us, we cannot break our oath by turning back. If you intend really to march on to Khudābād you can do by going along the river. When you go by another route then, we shall move unopposed to 'Umarkot where lies our luggage[2]."

The Afghan general in full agreement sent back the envoys with invaluable presents. The royal army moved towards Khudābād. He ordered 'Abdunnabī to produce the promised treasures. The latter failed to comply with and the lustful Afghan chief degendering into beastliness ordered his army—the Afghans, Brahuis and Nuhmardis for an indiscriminate plunder and loot in all the neighbouring territories without any heed paid to age, caste or creed. A reign of terror began. The ravaged places presented the scene of the valley of Baca. Every one was deprived of his property, "even to the clothes on their persons, to the shoes in their feet and to the mats in their houses[3]". Another report states, that, "Madad Khān laid waste the country with fire and sword, and so severe were his ravages, that a dreadful famine followed his campaign, and the province of Sind is said not yet have recovered from what it suffered on that occasion[4]". Alarmed of the atrocities and ravages committed by an alien army, 'Abdullah convened at 'Umarkot, a meeting of his relatives, and determined to march against the devastators. Orders were issued for the expedition and next day, on his call, thousands of brave Baluchis thronged under the walls of 'Umarkot fort and started directly for Khudābād. Madad Khān abandoned Khudābād and encamped six miles away from the Meer's camp. "You were a great chief," the Meer sent an errand to the Afghan general, "and I trusted your word. I never thought that you would say one thing and do another. You may be powerful, but that is no reason why you should oppress the poor people and make them feel your power. All are creatures of the same God and you should fear God or else His punishment will overtake you, sooner or later[5]".

1. "History of Sind", Vol. II, p. 86.
2. See "Fatehnāmeh".
3. "Fatehnāmeh".
4. See "Elphinstone's Cabul".
5. "History of Sind", Vol. II, p. 188.

Ashamed of his deeds, "O! noble Meer", replied Madad Khān, "your words are noble. You are doubtless young in years, but old in wisdom and experience. I value your advice and I myself do not like to oppress the creatures of God. As 'Abdunnabi would not give me the promised gold or even provisions for the army, the latter was obliged to go about plundering. Properly speaking, it is he who is responsible to God for this oppression and not I. As for my words of honour and the promise made by me, I assure you that I have repeatedly sent letters to His Majesty, recommending you to be the administrator of this country, on condition that you should regularly send the fixed tribute to the royal coffers. I undertake to do the desirable, but if you are faithful to the King and true to me, come to visit me, who am your guest, with your kinsmen Fateh 'Alī, Fateh Khān and Suhrāb. But in the first place disband your army, for that will be the proof of your faithfulness to the King. Thereby you will gain your object, and your enemies will be greatly punished[1]". 'Abdullah defied the enemy to the trial of mortal fight. Madad Khān marched towards 'Umarkot to fish Meer Fateh Khān with a golden hook. The latter came to pay his homage to the Afghan commander who caught him as a rebel and announced to ransom him for rupees two lakhs. One night galloping on his horse, he made his escape amidst the fifty Afghan guards and joined Meer 'Abdullah at Dīngarh. Madad Khān *en route* to Ubaorah, sent a message to 'Abdullah: "I am anxious to meet you, as I have with me 'Abdunnabi who has sworn a solemn oath to reconcile with you and place himself under your charge. I, therefore, request you sincerely to meet me. If you have any misunderstanding against me, here I am sending the Qurān to you to assure you of my sincerity. My sole aim is to bring understanding between you and him and thus secure peace and prosperity to the land. Then, I can go back satisfactorily to the King and content and convince him about your cause." Despising moderation as cowardice, 'Abdullah replied, "I am a man of one word and I have said already what I had to say. If I had no regard for the King, I would not have come to you to set matters right." Immediately after this, 'Abdullah and Fateh 'Alī Khān along with their gallant array of nobles prepared for war and challenged to the field Madad Khān. Unable to cut the Gordian knot, the Afghan grampus, sensing his danger, immediately left for Kandahār, leaving 'Abdunnabi in the learch.

'Abdunnabi and his masterpiece fraud

The Kalhorah puppet bound himself with oaths of firmness and fidelity which often he renewed and often abused. Writhed with shame, 'Abdunnabi sent a copy of the Holy Qurān to 'Abdullah, with the following words written on the margin of the Holy Book: "I hereby commit to writing and swear by the word of Allah that henceforth, I shall remain sincere to the Meer and will not act treacherous." He was, in fact, too feeble to contend, too base to be relied on, and the Meer was too proud to forgive and too simple to believe. 'Abdullah kissed the Holy Book and placed it over his head as a sign of reverence. Suspecting treachery, he yet believed the promise to be true, and remarked to his cousin Fateh 'Alī: "Brother, I offer my life as a sacrifice on the Qurān. I may immediately meet the fate of my

1. "History of Sind", Vol. II, p. 188.

grandfather, father and uncle, and I leave my little children to thine care. I hope thou will look after them like a father." He went to 'Abdunnabi accompanied by his nobles and was received with open arms. They became friends but the spirit of Brutus was lurking in Miān's heart. At Khudābād, 'Abdullah with his nobles daily used to visit Miān's Court with irrefragable sincerity. But Miān's punic faith and purple deeds exposed him a second time to play the deuce and no impartial pen can paint the devil blacker than what actually he was. One night, the Kalhorah fox put on the dress of a beggar and came secretly to the Meer's residence, and beseeched him: "O! wise Meer, either kill me or imprison me. As I believe, you have not yet full faith on the Qurān, or my writing on it; here I am unarmed and alone before you. You always come to my place with a crowd of men, which shows that you still distrust me. Now do whatever you like." The honourable Meer promised to visit his court alone. He despatched his men and relatives to Shahdādpur except Fateh Khān and Mirzo Fakir besides few Baluch attendants.

Treacherous murder of 'Abdullah, Fateh Khān and Mirzo Fakir

As the keys of hidden knowledge are beyond the limits of human powers so 'Abdullah unpercieved that he had to get more kicks than half pence from the Judas like 'Abdunnabi. In the year 1783 A.D. one day, the latter instructed a number of his men to appear in the court fully armed next morning at the usual time of Meer's visit. Early in the next morning before the arrival of the Meers, Miān ordered his courtiers to inform them on his behalf to enter the court unarmed. As usual 'Abdullah Khān and Fateh Khān came to the court and on the communication of the order, both felt either to sink or swim. They gave their swords to the Junto of courtiers outside the palace. Inside the court, Miān's armed men instantly surrounded them and made them prisoners. At the same time, a column of armed men attacked the Meer's tents guarded by one hundred Baluchis. A rain of shots was fired at them; confusion had made its masterpiece. Many were killed and soon a most sacrilegious murder ensued; those wounded or survived were sent to the eternal home by the blades of swords. The terror-smitten Baluchis in their self-defence sabered two hundred men. Immediately after this an executioner came to the Meers who were spending their last moments of life in reading the Holy Qurān. 'Abdullah got the first blow and his head rolled down near the Holy Qurān and reddened its pages with the innocent blood. The second blow seized Fateh Khān's life.'

'Abdullah died leaving two minor sons, Ghulam Hussain and Bahrām, while Fateh Khān left behind two grown up sons, Allahyār and Thārah. The last Kalhorah ruler completed the tragic end of his dynasty. Nothing could now stem the tide of decline and extinction. The road was clear to the Tālpurs and they were prepared to pass over it and pick to pieces the Kalhorah hegemony. Fateh 'Alī Khān amidst hopes and fears was elected unanimously as the head of the Baluchis. The new chief proposed to send their kith and kin to the fort of Dīngarh and resolved to march atonce against the enemy. All the neighbouring Baluch chiefs were besieged with demands for volunteers to meet the common cause. The accumulated evils and sheer treachery on the part of 'Abdunnabi who was the storm centre of Sind, provoked the Tālpurs; a nerve was touched of keen feeling; and the excitement vibrated like electric current to the heart of every honourable Baluch who had

no longer the nerves to bear the murder of another individual of their leading house. A host of Baluchis numbering six thousand flocked to his standard and erected the standard of rebellion and revenge, Fateh 'Alī sent Suhrāb to Wangah Walasah to bring Nindah and other Baluch chiefs with their men-at-arms. Fate loomed heavily on either sides. 'Abdunnabi mustered up more than thirty thousand men. Muhammad Hassan Kuhāwar commanding the Kalhorah army advanced against the Baluchis. He was further assisted with a squadron Commanded by Bilāwal son of Rājah Likhī. Ghulam Hassan Jhinjan with his tribesmen also followed the suit. The remaining Kalhorah allies consisted of the men of Tājah Samtiah, Dhinganah Jatoi, Peroz Kaleri and Peroz Tālpur with their respective forces, assisted with a huge gang of Khosas, Nuhmardis and Afghans, headed by Sardār Khān and Ishāq Khān. 'Abdunnabi with his mighty force of forty five thousand men halted at Hālāni, (a town in Kandiaro Taluka), a distance of six miles from Fateh 'Alī Khān's camp. Early in the morning the hostile forces girded themselves for the contest. Fateh 'Alī Khān led the attack. A bloody fight commenced with the commencement of muskets and arrows. Like two roaring waves, the rival forces clashed with each other and the muskets and arrows were replaced by trenchent swords. In the heat of war, Meer Suhrāb reached the scene with three thousand Baluchis. The leader of the enemy's advance guard, Muhammad Hassan, succumbed to the blow of a sword and his vacant place was taken promptly by his brother, Bakar, who met the same fate. Fateh 'Alī ordered a general attack on the enemy from all sides. Suhrāb fell desperately on the contingents of the Samtiahs and put to the sword Tājah Likhī and his brother Allahdād. Within a short time, with his bold compeers in arms, Fateh 'Alī took the field with horror. Thousands of the enemy lay stretched upon the field and the wounded were seen jumping on the ground just like fish out of water. A dreadful scene prevailed on the battlefield. Amidst the huge confusion, 'Abdunnabi made his escape in plunging into a nearest lake and disappeared in the neighbouring hills of Baluchistan. According to the author of 'Fatehnāmeh' the above battle took place in 1782 A.D.[1] After the victory Fateh 'Alī Khān came to Naoshahrah (Naoshahro Feroz) and halted there.

The ascendency of Meer Fateh 'Alī Khān Tālpur

After the treacherous murder of Bijjār by the feigned Rājpūt envoys, 'Abdunnabi, privately conferred the fort of 'Umarkot to the Rājah of Jodhpur. A small Rājpūt garrison, garrisoned the town. In 1786 A.D. the incharge of the garrison, Rājah Bājesing, threatened by the course of events, urged the Rājah to reinforce the garrison on a great scale. Accordingly a hundred camel-load of provisions and 2,000 men were despatched to 'Umarkot. The very day Ghulām Muhammad Khān, brother of Suhrāb Khān, had been on a hunting excursion with one hundred Baluchis. He attacked the advanced guard of the Rājpūts consisting of three hundred men. The main force of the Rājpūts soon reached the scene and a hand to hand fight ensued. The Meer surrounded by the unexpected

1. The date recorded by the author of 'Fatehnāmeh' is obviously wrong. The cause of the above war, is the treacherous murder of 'Abdullah and Fateh Khān, and this event according to 'Frerenāmeh' occurred in 1783 A.D. The above war, therefore, took place after 1783 A.D. or in the same year but not one year before the actual cause.

army, sent to hell three hundred Rājpūts before surrendering his life with his last man. Suhrāb and Fateh 'Alī Khān set out for revenge. The Baluch army overtook the Rājpūts in their own territory, plundered and ravaged several villages and knocked down several idol-worshipping places. The hard-faced, atrabilious, earnest eyed race satiating their thirst for vengeance returned back with spolia opima.

'Abdunnabi for the third time in Kalāt

'Abdunnabi the hostage of Naseer Khān I appealed to the good graces of the Kalāt ruler and compelled him to champion his cause. The Brahui Khān sent a letter to Fateh 'Alī Khān through his ambassador: "This shamless 'Abdunnabi has come to me for the third time to seek help. I have told him closely that I do not wish to do any thing in the matter, but he still presses in moving terms. I have, therefore, determined to get him away somehow and have promised to give him a force to take him safely up to Khudabad. After that I have nothing to do with him and you may deal with him, then, as you wish[1]". He also instructed the ambassador to request the Meer not to oppose his force. Fateh 'Alī Khān replied, directing the Khān to order his troops not to cross the river, otherwise, "if they cross the river this side," the letter stated, "they should not consider us far off; any one coming this side will be liable to be treated rudely and punished[2]". Fateh 'Alī Khān soon started on a hunting excursion towards Wangah where he spent about two month. Meanwhile, 'Abdunnabi with the Brahuis forces reached Hatri, a village of Siwistān district, and remained there until the arrival of a Rājpūt force, for which he had secretly pre-arranged with the Jodhpur Rājah. The Brahui forces, undisciplined and unrestrained began to plunder the neighbouring villages. The Rājah of Jodhpur agreed to assist the Kalhorah dunder-head, in case, the Brahuis first enter the heart of Sind and cross the river. Between two desperate alternatives—to act with infamy or quit the place, 'Abdunnabi landed in a dilemma and soon perceived that he was digging the well at the river. Meanwhile, the Brahuis considering the whole affair nothing but all moonshine, raised the devil and turned their eyes towards their hostage; carried away horses, camels and tents, and returned to Kalāt. Amidst utter scenes of confusion, 'Abdunnabi, to shroud his shame, decided to settle in Derājāt territory. On his way, near Hyderābād, Fateh 'Alī chastised the discomfited Nuhmardis. He ordered Ghulām Alī son of Kaisar Fakir Nizāmāni, the administrator of Tatta, to march with a huge army to Kakralah. Accordingly this Hindu stronghold knuckled down to the valour of the Baluchis and many of its inhabitants were slaughtered in cold blood.

Fateh 'Alī Khān sends his envoys to the court of King Timur Shāh

The dark days had now completely sealed the fate of the last Kalhorah claimant to the throne of Sind. The feigned superiority and mock majesty of the Kalhorahs could not check the tide of decline and their whole political and military structure tumbled before the Tālpurs. The last ruler of the dynasty was nothing but a puppet who propped on the imperial throne by treacherous courtiers. 'Abdunnabi, passing few days in idle dreams

1. 'History of Sind', p. 197.
2. Ibid, p. 197.

at Derahs, had gone to the camp of King Timur Shāh to plead his case. The Meer sent his envoys, Sayyed Ibrāhim Shāh, Kaiser Fakir Nizāmāni and Mirza Ghulām 'Alī with a letter to the Afghan tyrant. In the meantime, Fazal 'Alī, a Daūd Potah chief, of Bahāwalpur territory urged Fateh 'Alī Khān's assistance against his adversary, Akhtiyār Khān. The Meer marched with a throng of valiant warriors into the territory of Akhtiyār Khān who yielded to all terms without any show of arms. The victor returned back to Shāhpur and sent a small force under Hājī Ahmed to subjugate the fort of Hyderābād. This was accomplished without any bloodshed, the fort itself caught fire[1] which had facilitated the invaders to capture it. Ghulām Hyder, one of the courtiers of 'Abdunnabi, set fire to the magazines. The terrific explosion caused several breaches in the walls of the fort. The remaining family of the Kalhorah's found their last refuge in Jodhpur. The Baluch army moved with pride and confidence and stood in arms before the gates of Hyderābād, a flourishing town, which had subsisted more than half a century under the dominion of the Kalhorah rulers.

The envoys at the court of Afghan King

The Meer's envoys reached the King's camp and submitted a petition to the King on behalf of their master, explaining all the mean and sordid artifices which 'Abdunnabi displayed against the Meer and his family. "How long", wrote the Meer, "May I vex your majesty by describing the long list of his inhuman barbarities. He assassinated my uncle, who had been always loyal to him. He assassinated in cold blood my dear relatives, 'Abdullah and Fateh Khān. He wrote one thing on the Qurān and did another. He paid no veneration to the book of God. Then, what did he not do to his own kith and kin, young or old, all of whom met sad death at his perfidious hands. All these men with complaints against him have gone to the sublime court of God to find Justice. Such a person, therefore, is underserving of your majesty's grace and help." The letter soothed but never charmed the King's mind. The Meer's envoys left no stone unturned in propagating their master's cause before the influential courtiers of the king. The ill-starred 'Abdunnabi was proved in every high circle as a counterfeit crank. The King issued an order to the effect that the province of Sind be divided into two halves, one half going to Meer Fateh 'Alī Khān and the other half to 'Abdunnabi. An officer was appointed to divide the country and a force commanded by Bostān Khān and Ikhlās Khān was despatched along with 'Abdunnabi to reinstate the latter in his portion of the country. The Meer's envoys remained at King's court and communicated the decision to their chief who dissented from this settlement. In the meantime, Fateh 'Alī Khān marched with 40,000 Baluchis to Lohri to meet the royal forces with their hostage, 'Abdunnabi. His envoys, meantime, succeeded in procuring a royal Sanad in favour of their chief besides an order demanding 'Abdunnabi and the two generals to return back to the King's camp. The Afghan Generals and 'Abdunnabi got the orders, and there was no limit to the latter's despair; it seemed, as if, he was squeezed through a horn. Of fortune and of hope at once forlorn, this fountain of hypocrisy was, therefore, compelled to eat humble pie with sorrows and pangs even unto death.

1. It is said that the fire was set by Kalhorah families residing inside the fort.

Fateh 'Alī Khān's rule

Fateh 'Alī Khān ascended the 'masnad' amidst loud cries of acclamations by the Baluch chiefs. The fertile land of Indus becomes, a Baluch land. After a short time, some of the Baluch chiefs severed their connection with Fateh 'Alī Khān and retired to their homes. King Timur Shah, then at Jalālābād, received from 'Abdunnabi then living on pension, a petition depicting in energetic language the disagreement between the Meer, his nobles and his relative, Suhrāb. He implored the mercy and help of the King at this proper juncture. To take the Meer in a brake, the mercurial Afghan King took the side of 'Abdunnabi and in 1787 A.D. despatched an army under the command of Ahmad Khān Nurzai and Bostān Khān, to reinstate 'Abdunnabi in his pristine happiness and felicity of his worthless reign. At the same time, a royal order was conveyed to Naseer Khān I, the ruler of Kalāt, to expedite an army to join 'Abdunnabi and Bostān Khān. The Brahui force commanded by the son of Zarak, the son in law to the Khān, joined the royal army at Dera Ghāzi Khān. The combined army crossed the river and marched through the territory of the Bahāwalpur ruler, who out of fear fled from his capital.

Fateh 'Alī Khān defeats the royal Afghan army

The Meer declined to battle with the royal army and sent, therefore, Sayyed Ibrāhīm Shah as an envoy to the King. The envoy pleaded his master's fidelity to the sovereign and the regular payment of the annual tribute to the royal treasury. But the Afghan despot neither asked nor accepted terms and the Meer was forced to draw his sword against him. In the meantime, the Afghans and Brahuis reached the Sind border. The Meer ordered Ghulām 'Alī Khān Tālpur to convoke forces from the neighbouring places and sent his own family to Kachh and Jesalmer. The chaos of immiscible and conflicting interest once again seized the unfortunate land. Ahmad Khān Nurzai reached as far as Lohri. Suhrāb sent a message written on Holy Qurān to Fateh 'Alī Khān promising him assistance against the enemy. But it was a letter of Uriah. He deserted the Meer, a little before the actual war. Fateh 'Alī had no recourse but to proceed only with two thousand Baluchis against fifteen thousand highlanders, of whom five thousand were Brahuis and the rest Afghans. In their effort for neck or nothing, the Meer's forces summoned up their hereditary courage and spirit and in their march rivalled thunder in its rapid course. A big perrenial canal occupied by the Afghans intervened the adverse forces. Fateh 'Alī Khān reached on one side of the canal and opened a ceaseless fire on the enemy but was responded with equal ferocity. The eventual victory demanded the unsheathing of swords. Immediately, a Homeric combat displayed its horrors. Fateh 'Alī Khān amidst the roaring of guns ordered his men to swim across the canal. The Baluchis, sword in hand, faith in heart and fire in brain made a dead set at the Afghans. A bloody battle started, manifesting itself into a superhuman battle. Both the armies fought to the pitch of their valour and the Baluchis, like a belt of ice frozen together, stood unshaken before the onset of the enemy. The fierce energy, which Fateh 'Alī threw into the war unnerved the wild foe. Guilt and tyranny once cherished in the conscious breast intimidates the brave and degrades the great. Bostān Khān and the Brahui chief, fell on the battlefield and Ahmad Khān Nurzai aware of the Hannibal to be at the gates, threw up the sponge,

and put to flight. The Meer's insuperable men with soldier's battle made hay of the enemy and the inviolable Baluchi banner unfurled proudly on the battlefield.

The king to retaliate upon the enemy, himself started for the conquest of Sind.

King Timur Shāh marches against the Meer but returns from Bahāwalpur

At Kandahār, the ranks of His Majesty were strengthened by Prince Mahmūd Khān and his men. At Multan, Naseer Khān I, of Kalāt, joined the royal camp. Fateh 'Alī Khān whose fortunes of war was still inviolate, wrote a petition to the King explaining the tragedy of the previous war: "I tried my level best", he wrote, "to avoid fighting, but Ahmad Khān desired nothing but war. Therefore, I was compelled to defend myself. Unfortunately the Khān was defeated. Had I not stopped my Baluchis, none of the Afghans would have returned back safely." The King examined, sifted and bolted to the bran, the political turmoil in Sind, and, finally, decided Fateh 'Alī to be a fit man, forsooth, to govern the Sind realm. About the same time Shāh Murād Khān, the governor of Balkh had denounced himself a rebel with horse and foot. The King immediately moved back to Kabul. Fateh 'Alī Khān after a march of eleven days returned to Hyderābād and wrote to his brothers, Karam 'Alī Khān and Murād 'Alī Khān to set on foot to Hyderābād with their families. In 1789 A. D. two forts, Fatehgarh and Islāmgarh were built in Thar district. Hyderābād was fixed as the future capital. Within a time of nine months, newly built fine buildings and splendid mosques added much to the granduer of the Baluch capital.

In the year 1792 A.D. King Timur Shāh subsided the Balkh rebellion and sent Paindah Khān with an Afghan contingent to Sind to come to an *eclaircissement* with the Meer. The latter advanced with the bulk of his army to meet the Afghan either on the battlefield or on peaceful terms. The Afghan general sent envoys to the Meer and, finally, met him personally. After a long discussion, the talks concluded that the Meer in future should pay as much tribute to the King as was paid by the Kalhorahs. The treaty was signed. Paindah Khān on behalf of the King, presented to the Meer, a gorgeous dress of honour, a sword bedecked with diamonds and jewels, an elephant with a howdah and a fresh Sanad with the signature of the King's sign manual, confirming him as the ruler of the entire Sind. In reciprocation of these favours, the Meer sent his envoy Dīwān Jaspatrai with opulent gifts to Kabul. So ended in favour of the Tālpur family, the intestine struggle between authority and liberty, tyranny and justice. The Meer returned immediately with all the prestige and power of a ruler, riding on the elephant and adored with robes of honour to Hyderābād where he was greeted with wild enthusiasm. In the end of 1792 A.D. he took back the fort of Karachi from Naseer Khān I, the ruler of Kalāt.

In 1793 Timur Shah dropped into the grave full of despairs and disquietudes.

Meer Fateh Alī Khān divides Sind among different Tālpur Meers

His third son Zamān Shāh succeeded to the throne. He sent according to the old custom affluent robes of honour to Fateh 'Alī Khān and confirmed him on his high position by means of new Sanad, but the Meer threw off the allegiance soon after the death of Timur Shāh and became the sovereign head of Sind. We, find Sind, virtually, independent under the later Meers of the Tālpur

family[1]. The Meer, mainly, remained in his capital as sword and shield was no more required in Sind. He had shown his teeth to all the neighbouring independent states. His valour and generalship had seen sharp tests. He challenged the power of the Afghans, Brahuis, Rājpūts, Kalhorahs and Daudpotahs and finally made them all tremble before the might of the Baluch sword. Fateh 'Alī Khān after the pacification of the disturbed elements in the territory laid the basis of the Baluchification of Sind. At last passing a prosperous and a peaceful life in Hyderābād, he divided the country of Sind into seven shares. He kept three shares for himself, bestowed two shares to Suhrāb Khān—the ancestor of the Meers of Khairpur, called Suhrabānīs, one share he reserved for his own relations and one he gave to Thārah Khān[2], Mahmūd Khān, Ghulām Hussain Khān, Bahrām Khān and other Tālpurs. Similarly all the Baluch tribesmen were divided into three parties for the three sets of Meers, all of whom lived independently in their respective divisions. Fateh 'Alī's creation, unfortunately, was not destined to outlive him for a long time, for he in his lifetime atomized the realm into a numbers of small principalities which led to the growth of decentralization and political disunification.

The first contact of the British with the Tālpurs

In 1799 A.D. a commercial mission was opened up by the British with Sind. Nathan Crowe of the Bombay Civil Service was sent to Sind to conduct the political and Mercantile interests of the British Government with the Tālpur rulers. The British agent remained for a time at Karachi, Tatta and Shahbunder, and in all these places he was treated as a neglected envoy. Finally, Fateh 'Alī Khān ordered him to quit the country within ten days and so it was done[3].

Death of Fateh 'Alī Khān

About the end of Zulhajj in 1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.) Fateh 'Alī Khān fell sick with a carbuncle. The disease took a fatal course. The sole master of Sind, felt his end, and made his will, by appointing his brother Ghulām 'Alī Khān as his successor. On the 10th of Muharram 1217 A.H. (1802 A.D.) after an illness of six days, this noblest son of Sind, the redoubtable Baluch warrior, the victor of so many fields, the chastiser of Naseer I—the nightmare of Baluchistan, and vanquisher of the Afghans and Rājpūts sunk unto rest with all the dignity of a superb ruler and a soldier. The departure of a great soul is always pathetic and pinching, but the demise of a superb man, of a mighty hero, who had achieved the pinnacle of worldly glory and fame seems to touch the veins of the most misanthropic man. The entire Sind populace without distinction of cast or creed, mourned his death in sackcloth and ashes.

Estimate of Fateh 'Alī Khān's rule

He was the first Tālpur who razed to the ground the tottering structure of the cursed Kalhorah rule with all the complete picture of a dreadful tragedy. It is another instance of history in which the ruler was replaced by the vanquished. He hounded down his adversaries, rounded out his conquests and founded

1. "The Cambridge Shorter History of India", by J. Allan, p. 651.
2. Thārah Khān is the ancestor of the Manikani Meers of Meerpur.
3. See 'Sind Gazatteer'.

the Baluch polity. A man of Memphian chivalry, Fateh 'Alī Khān always depended on the strength of his sword. He was one of the most gifted figures in Sind history and was a master at military engagements, and his matchless successes in which he baffled his rivals were due to the boldness of his actions besides the military machine which he organized and commanded. He was destined for the field rather than the study. A youth of matchless might, who, like a thriving plant upran to virtue and victory. He was a sagacious ruler, a man of sterling ability, precocious genius, the beau-ideal of a soldier and a gentleman—a ruler who brought order out of apparent chaos and gave the Tālpur regime a new lease of life. He invited many Baluch tribes by liberal gifts to establish a powerful colony in his dominion to consolidate his newly acquired power. His discreet policy confirmed the Tālpur rule and for more than half a century the Indus river rolled its water within the shadow of the Baluch standard. We, see, Sind under him attaining international fame and 'famously enriched with politic grave counsel.' He cowed and subdued all the foreign and internal disruptive forces which restrained him to bring things at their normal course. "Let a ruler clothed and armed", says Keene, "with the attributes of power say blankly to his subjects, 'Do this, for it is my will, in the east there will be an immediate disposition to obey". Fateh 'Alī Khān was not only the greatest Tālpur but also the most illustrious ruler of his time and perhaps the ablest ruler of all the Baluch list. He was a born leader of men, an inexorable ruler who made and unmade rules and regulations at will, and, in fact, a leader of unparalleled bravery and boldness. Though passing through so many crisis of fortune and forced from paths of blood, yet in the accomplished character of Fateh 'Alī, we find, all the qualities and virtues of an ideal man and a soldier, far ahead than the social and military philosophy of the times. He was more celebrated in his character and virtue than in his greatest military triumph. He received the allegiance of all turbulent and recalcitrant tribes and established the undisputed suzerainty of the Tālpur kingdom. His virtue won all, with virtue he preserved all. Within a short time his flag was unfurled on Sind with its extreme borders stretching from Karachi Port to the confines of Bahāwalpur on its eastern side, and the Kalāt Khānate on its north western side. "The Young Egypt" of Lord Ellenborough was ruled by him with astonishing accounts of generosity, peace and prosperity. The Baluch leaders under the glory of his reign marched from achievement to achievement, from success to success, from victory to victory, from stage to stage. With regard to his magnanimity and statesmanship, even the most hostile camps were compelled to celebrate him. His ideal was, forward with courage, and his goal triumph or death. Such was the undaunted gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never seen depressed or depraved even at the hour of gravest peril. But the season of splendour that Hyderābād, the capital, and Tālpur dynasty enjoyed under him was only an Indian summer. After his regime, the seeds of decline creeped into the body politic of the Meers. The Tālpur kingdom founded on a tribal basis by a race nomadic in their habits and organisation, could only be maintained by some dynamic personality. The Baluch Ameerate in the realm of Sind, saw its birth and acme of glory during Fateh 'Alī Khān's reign. He was the founder and the architect of the Baluchisized Sind. He kept the capital, Hyderābād, fortified and well guarded

by finely equipped grenadiers like the Roman Barons of the medieval ages. Had the British attacked Sind in his time, then, they would have not only been kicked out of Sind but would have been forced to give to the Meer a greater price out of their imperial conquest over the Indian territories beyond Indus. After his death, according to his will, his relatives forked the succession. The kingdom was subdivided into several principalities and distorted by endless jealousies and quarrels. It was parcelled out further into many divisions for there was no law of primogeniture; the power passed collaterally to elder brother and each son claimed a share of the paternal inheritance. It must be recorded to his discredit, to have suggested to distribute the realm amongst the men of his own flesh and blood. A grave political blunder which sapped the vitality of the central hegemony as we see later on. A ruler of his calibre ought to have conformed to the memorable words of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II, who is said to have remarked when asked to be gentle towards his brother. "Empire", he said, "is a bride whose favours cannot be shared". Soon after his death, both social and political death seized the whole of Sind. Thus, it happened, that forty years after the death of this Charlemagne of Sind, most of the succeeding rulers, joined the majority, unlamented, unheard and unadored.

The rule of Ghulām 'Alī Khān

The coronation ceremony of Ghulām 'Alī Khān took place on the 16th of Muharram 1217 A.H. (1802 A.D.) Fateh 'Alī left a posthumous son named Sobdār Khān. People from various quarters of Sind assembled at Hyderābād, to condole the new ruler on the death of his brother and congratulate him on his accession to the throne. The ceremonies were not yet completed whence Thārah Khān, an arrant counterfeit claimant, alongwith some eternal villains set their teeth to denounce the fate and fortune of the new ruler. The black letter day for the conspirator approached fast, for the latter precipitated in declaring war. In 1803 A.D. at Tandrah of Nindah, the repugnant forces met, beset with ills. The insurgents resisted with the fury of the doomed. The bloody fight revelled in the fearful carnage of seven hundred men from both the sides, and the end saw the counterfeiters of devotion defeated in their own purpose.

Shuja-ul-Mulk invades Sind

The King of Afghanistan, Zamān Shāh, aptly speaking, a drone among the bees, sowed dragon's teeth in his dominion. The Afghan chiefs called upon the people to commemorate a revolution and accordingly the patricians and the plebians raised the devil. The hare-brained monarch was deposed and his brother, Shuja-ul-Mulk, succeeded him. In 1803 A.D. he invaded Sind. The people of the province abandoned their towns and fled towards Thar desert. Ghulām 'Alī Khān at the command of a huge army marched towards Shikārpur. At Ladkānah, Suhrāb Khān met the Meer and both agreed to send on their behalf, Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān, to the King to settle the affairs in a candid manner. The latter agreed to a conciliation and the terms accepted obliged the Meer to an immediate payment of rupees ten lakhs to the king and an annual tribute of rupees five lakhs.

Mahmūd Khān, the successor of Naseer I of Kalāt sealed his friendship with the Tālpur Meer by means of a treaty. At the same time, a matrimonial contract was patched up by which Māi Zainab, the sister of Naseer Khān, gave the hand of her niece to Ghulām 'Alī Khān. At Bhāg Nāri, more than forty thousand men celebrated the marriage festival with honour and glory. After a stay of three days, Ghulām 'Alī Khān with his bride left for Hyderābād.

Treaty and matrimonial connection with the Khān of Kalāt

One of the respectable Sayyed of Uch, Sayyed Zulfikār Shāh, poured out grievous complaints to the Meer about the tyrannic behaviour of the Bahāwalpur ruler, Muhammad Sādiq, to have licked the fat from their lips. The formal interposition of the Meer in this matter proved ineffectual and he sent his faithful eckhardt, Tāhar Khān, furnished with an army to lay hands on the Bahāwalpur territory as a condign punishment. A lerna of ills upsetted the invested territory. After some skirmishes, several towns and villages witnessed intolerable deal of sack. Beset with fears, Muhammad Sādik, almost prescient of the situation to be his leipsic, turned over a new leaf. He sued for peace and reciprocated the Meer's anger in resigning the district of Sabzal Kot to the latter and over and above confirming the Sayyeds their Jāgir, presented his son as a hostage to the Meer. Tāhar returned to Hyderābād with his royal hostage. The district of Sabzal Kot continued to remain a part of Sind under the succeeding Meers.

Conflict with the Bahāwalpur ruler

In the same year a devastating famine occurred in Kachh. The people of the place waved to Sind in large numbers and sold their children for rupees three per child. Ghulām 'Alī Khān's generosity saved the famine-stricken people inasmuch as a timely water saves the life of a parched up crop. After the subsidence of famine, the Kachhites returned to their native land, and, Bhārah, the Rāo of Kachh, wrote to the Meer requesting him to return back the children sold to Sindhis. He ordered his Chief Minister, Fakirah, to repurchase from the royal treasury the sold children. Consequently, all were sent to the Rāo through the British Resident.

On a shooting excursion the Meer shot a deer. He began to slay the animal which unconsciously moved its head and one of the horns pierced through the Meer's foot. The wound bled extremely, became contagious and finally fatal. On the 6th of Jamadissāni 1227 A.H. (1811 A.D.) this great heart in the odour of sanctity went to his eternal home. His short reign of nine years was sullied by no breath of ignominy.

Death of Ghulām 'Alī Khān

The British Government eager to meddle with the politics of Sind, on the 10th Rajjib 1224—21st August 1809 concluded a treaty with Ghulām 'Alī and his brothers. The articles of the treaty concluded:

Treaty between the British Government and Ghulām 'Alī Khān and his brothers

"(1) There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Sinde.

(2) Enmity shall never appear between the two states.

(3) The mutual despatch of the *vakeels* of both the governments shall always continue.

(4) The Government of Sinde will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Sinde[1]."

After Ghulām 'Alī Khān's death, the enthusiastic chiefs enthroned his son, Meer Muhammad, but resolutions adopted in enthusiasm are often repented of when excitement is succeeded by calculating shrewdness. Within a week's time, the Baluch peers raised to power Karam 'Alī Khān, brother of Ghulām 'Alī. The four brothers after Fateh 'Alī Khān's death honoured each other with such an intimate and immediate admission that people addressed them as "the four friends."

The rule of Karam 'Alī Khān

Karam 'Alī Khān's rule has never been disturbed by any internal or external revolt or war. The new ruler was too fortunate in his date. He found ample peace and opportunity to carry on with the work of administration with prudence, benevolence and dignity. It was a rule of peace and prosperity, pride and power. Being a literary man of remarkable aptitude, fine arts and literary pursuits flourished to the full. Karam 'Alī in the heyday of his power gathered round him at Hyderābād a galaxy of poets and men of pen. Sayyed Muhammad Rashid Shāh, a well-known saint, and Sābit 'Alī, the poet laureate, were his boon companions. Friendship with Fateh 'Alī Shāh Kājār, the then ruler of Persia, was renewed and both the courts exchanged envoys. Fond of weapons, the Meer imported rare swords bedecked with diamonds and jewels of rich and exquisite form from distant Asian countries. A host of painters and renowned writers mainly from Persia, found the full glory of their talents under his patronage.

Commercial treaty with the British Government

Sir John Malcolm, the governor of Bombay sent Major Skeene as an envoy to the Meer's court with rare gifts to him and his brother. The British envoy was received cordially at Tandah of Nawāb Walī Muhammad, where a commercial treaty was drawn up, signed and sealed by the Meers, with the following three conditions.

1. That no European should employ any native in his service.
2. That the officer coming to take the survey of the river Indus, should not be prohibited from or hindered in doing his work.
3. That any person coming through Kachh, with articles of trade, bearing a pass from the Governor of Bombay, should be free from any tax or toll.

In 1814 A.D. Shāh Shuja after his defeat by Muhammad 'Azīm Khān fled from Kabul and haunted Hyderābād. The Meer paid a visit to his royal refugee and collected an army to escort him to Shikārpur. Muhammad 'Azīm Khān sent an Afghan force under Ayyūb Shāh to humble down the Meers and drive away Shāh Shuja. At Shikārpur the Meer met the Afghan commander and a formal peace treaty was patched up. Shāh Shuja slipped away to Ludhiana. Having paid Rs. twelve lakhs

1. Extracts from the Blue Book of the parliament, 'The Sind correspondence'.

as an indemnity to Ayyūb Shāh, the Meer averted the mist of war by the breeze of peace.

In 1817 A.D. it was rumoured that Ranjīt Singh, the ruler of Punjab, added Mithankot to his territory and designed to invade Sind. Karam 'Alī Khān issued orders to all the Baluch tribes and Sirais to assemble at Hyderābād. Murād 'Alī Khān, the Meer's brother, suggested to consult the British Government before challenging the Sikhs on the field. Sayyed Ism'aīl Shāh ibn Sayyed Ibrāhīm Shāh bearing a letter on his behalf was despatched to meet the Governor of Bombay, John Malcolm. The Meer conscripted thirty thousand Baluchis to defend the borders of his dominion. Suhrāb Khān's forces joined them at Khairpur. The whole army consisting of forty thousand strong proceeded to Shikārpur. In the meantime, the Meer's ambassador reached Bombay. Sir John Malcolm had gone to England, and was succeeded by Lord Elphinstone who treated the Meer's ambassador with the warmth of his heart and sent the Meer's letter with his recommendation to the Governor General at Calcutta. The latter, in a letter written to Ranjīt Singh, stressed the Meer's friendship with them and any encroachment on their country would be an ultimatum to the British. The Sikh chief defended his innocence and pleaded further about his grandson, Nihālsing's formal visit to Multān and Derahs to spend Duserah holidays.

Treaty between the British Government and Karam 'Alī Khān and Murād Alī Khān

Apart from the assurance of friendship between the two Governments according to the treaty of 21st August, 1809, a second treaty was made through Aghā Ism'aīl Shāh with the British Government on 9th November, 1820 A.D. Following are the two articles:—

(1) The Amirs of Sinde engage not to permit any European or American to settle in their dominions. If any of the subjects of either of the two states should establish their residence in the dominions of the other and should conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceful manner in the territory to which they may emigrate, they will be allowed to remain in that situation; but if such fugitives shall be guilty of any disturbance or commotion it will be incumbant on the local authority to take the offenders into custody and punish or compel them to quit the country.

(2) The Amirs of Sinde engage to restrain the depredations of the Khoosas and all other tribes and individuals within their limits and to prevent the occurrence of any inroad into the British dominions.

Revolt of Meer Sobdār Khān

In 1826 A.D. Meer Sobdār Khān, the son of Late Meer Fateh 'Alī, fomented a rebellion. He went to Lar (lower Sind) where Ghulām 'Alī Khān Tālpur and other Baluch chiefs, swelled his ranks to 8,000. Murād 'Alī Khān with 800 men resolved to meet his nephew on the open field. He bribed his nephew's men and a considerable number of them deserted their master. Declining to run upon the rocks, he curried favour of Karam 'Alī Khān and was finally granted an allowance.

After a long illness, in 1828 A.D. he entered the gates of his long home and inhumed on a hill to the north of Hyderābād under a magnificent edifice designed to be a standing commemoration compatible with the deceased ruler's fine tastes. "The tombs of the deceased members of the reigning family", writes an English man, "are grouped at a distance from those of the Caloras. The only handsome one of the Talpurs is that of Mir Karam Ali; display characterized this prince in life, and he has carried his love of pomp to the grave. The edifice is chaste and handsome,—its figure a square, capped with a fine cupola—and the heaviness of the whole is much relieved by a tower in each angle[1]".

Death of Karam 'Alī Khān

A man of wit and wisdom, his solemn disposition free from voluntary transgressions bore a strange contrast to that of his predecessors who had in their veins tinge of barbaric savagery patent to their blood. His graceful form with his facial semblance of gayety was graced alike with intrinsic graces. His autocratic blood and sardonic courtliness kept pace wonderfully with his meekness and moderation. In truth, every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Generous in heart, he was generous in all and to all. Suspicion and diffidence had been an article of faith to all Asiatic rulers, but in him, we find, a bold heart and a frank mind that always stood plain as print. Clothed with transcendent valour, boldness and fidelity were the best passage way to his favour. He, infact, represented the true picture of his religion, country, and the genius of his Age and none of the candid critics would dare to cast wholesale aspersions to bolt his virtue. Pomp and pageantry were the keynote of his career. Grandiosity was the only defect that stained to a degree the illustrious character of Karam 'Alī Khān. "The character of Meer Kurum Ali Khan", writes Dr. Burnes, "forms a perfect contrast to that of his brother. He is a man of approved personal bravery, and as far as the etiquette of the court permits, is cheerful, condescending and even affable. Fond of dress and display, he courts popular applause, which Mourad Ali affects to despise; and till lately he was generous to profusion. Even yet he is liberal, although he now shows a disposition to follow the general policy of Sinde court, and to hoard money. I found the public voice at Hyderabad decidedly in his favour, as a prince who was kind to his subjects and attendants, and who was strict in the performance of his promises. In person he is below the middle size, with a pleasing countenance and engaging manners[2]".

Character of Karam 'Alī Khān

Karam 'Alī Khān died issueless. On the 16th of Jamādissāni 1244 A.H. (1828 A.D.) Murād 'Alī Khān succeeded his brother on the throne. Endowed with extraordinary ability, his reign was a reign of peace. The Baluch nobles endearedly bowed before his affection and despotic whims. Cultivation and trade flourished extensively. Constant feuds and hydra-headed rebellion arose between the Afghan claimants to the throne of Kabul, a favourable phase of history which made the Meer free from the bondage of Afghan suzerainty. Friendship with Fateh 'Alī Shāh Kājār, the ruler of Persia,

Meer Murād 'Alī Khān

1. M. S. Journal of Wieut. Wood, I.N. (1835-36).
2. 'Visit to the Court of Sind' by Dr. James Burnes.

strengthened to an extent that the Persian sovereign inclined to give his daughter's hand in marriage tothe Meer who rejected the honour graciously owing to the long distance and his old age. Envoy from the British Government, Ranjit Singh of Punjab, the Rājah of Jesalmer, the Rāo of Kachh, the Sultān of Mascat and the Sharīf of Mecca visited his court. Shuja-ul-Mulk once came to him as a refugee and he conferred temporary the town of Shikārpur with its revenue to the Afghan prince.

Treaty with the British Government

On 20th April 1832 (18th Zikaad 1247 A.H.) a treaty was concluded between the British Government and Murād 'Alī Khān, through Lieut. Colonel Pottinger. The following were some of the important articles:

"(2) That the two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetnousness on the possessions of each other.

(3) That the British Government has requested a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindustan by the river and roads of Sinde, by which they may transport either goods and merchandize from one country to another, and the said Government of Hyderabad hereby acquiesces in the same request on the three following conditions that no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river and roads; that no armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river, and that no English merchants shall be allowed to settle in Sinde but shall come as occasion requires, and having stopped to transact their business, shall return to India.

(4) When Merchants shall determine on visiting Sinde they shall obtain a passport to do so from the British Government, and due intimation of the granting of such passport shall be made to the said government of Hyderabad by the Resident in Cutch, or other officer of the said British Government.

(5) That the said government is to promulgate a tariff or table of duties leviable on each kind of goods as the case may . . ."

Murād 'Alī Khān displayed rare statesmanship in concluding the terms of the above treaty. He safeguarded his integrity to the best of terms. But eleven years later on, the British Government completely fulfilled the articles of the above treaty at the battle of Miāni in 1843 A.D., whereby instead of visiting Sind as occasional traders, they made themselves the legitimate ruler of the place.

Mint established at Hyderābād

His complete independence from foreign yoke, led him to struck coin in his own name. A mint was established at Hyderābād under the charge of an expert iron-smith, Fateh Muhammad. Fifty golden Ashrafis were struck for experiment sake. Later on, he ordered all the gold in the treasury to be given into the mint. But before the gold reached the mint, he was himself minted into the grave.

His death

Confined to bed for a fortnight due to pain in the chest and knees, Murād 'Alī Khān bid farewell for ever to this world on the 6th of Jamādissāni 1249 A.H. (1833 A.D.) He died leaving four sons, viz; Meers Nūr Muhammad Khān, Naseer Khān, Muhammad Khān and Yār Muhammad Khān and two daughters.

Dr. Burnes famous for a scolding tongue paints a strange description of Murād 'Alī Khān's character which though contradictory, is yet very interesting: "Meer Mourad Ali Khan", he continues, "is about 55 years of age, of low stature and stout habit of body. His complexion is rather fair and his countenance is the index of a sullen and gloomy mind. He is cold and repulsive in his manners, seldom relaxes into a smile and never condescends to familiar conversation. His personal attachments are confined to the circle of his family . . . Inconsistent as it may appear, this tyrant is at heart a poor hypochondriac, constantly haunted by the fear of death, and the phantoms of his own gloomy imagination . . . I have myself known him pass several sleepless nights from a horror of the consequences of bodily derangement of the most trivial description. The prevailing feature of Meer Mourad Ali's character is avarice; and he is ever too ready to sacrifice, for its gratification, his own dignity, and the interests of his people. Seldom making promises, he even more rarely fulfils them; and altogether his character may be summed up as that of a selfish and gloomy despot, an Asiatic Tiberius or Philip the Second, ruling a kingdom by the energies of his mind, with none of the better feelings of the human heart."

The rule of Nūr Muhammad Khān

After Murād 'Alī Khān, the Baluch Chiefs assembled, chewed on wisdom past and divided the territorial possessions of the late Meer into four parts amongst his four sons, all of whom began to rule from the joint capital, Hyderābād. Similar fate met the Khairpur chiefship. In 1830 A.D. on the death of Suhrāb Khān, Khairpur was divided among his sons, Meer Rustam Khān and 'Alī Murād Khān and their nephews Muhammad Hassan Khān son of Rustam Khān, Muhammad Khān son of Ghulam Hyder Khān and Naseer Khān son of Mubārak Khān who died in 1839 A.D. Similarly, 'Alī Murād Khān son of Thārah Khān of Meerpur followed the same pattern. After 'Alī Murād Khān son of Thārah Khān, Khairpur fell to the fate of his sons, Sher Muhammad Khān, Shāh Muhammad Khān and Khān Muhammad Khān. The whole of Sind, unfortunately, was Balkanized into small phylarchies each ruled by a young ruler, mad with desire they ruminated over their sins and not on their past. Nūr Muhammad Khān burlesqued the sacred traditions, power and prestige handed over to him by his worthy predecessors. All the draw-backs and misfortunes that goes to make a sovereign a true failure were the part and parcel of his royal sceptre. "Meer Mourad Ali's eldest son Meer Noor Muhammad Khan," remarks Dr. Burnes, "is about 30 years of age, and may be considered as nearly the counterpart of his father, with all the bad and but few of the strongparts of his character. He was very unpopular; and I never heard of any virtue he possessed, except a selfish attachment to his parent. Accumulation of wealth is the apparent object of his life. This chief is the only one of the family who is illiterate."

In Jamādissāni 1255 A.H. (1840 A.D.) he fell sick and on the morning of Wednesday, 10th Shawwal 1255 A.H. (1840 A.D.) expired and was burried by the side of his father.

Rule of Naseer Khān

Naseer Khān succeeded Nūr Muhammad by the joint choice of all the Baluch chiefs. But the silent, brooding and everlasting fate had decided otherwise. The whizzing arrows, the roaring guns, the bloody spears and swords of the battle of Miāni were to

decide his fate and that of Sind. What had been violently won decades before had to be violently defended. But the victim of Miāni, the quixotic and bibulous prince, Naseer Khān, a portent of inevitable misfortune, fell prey to bickering amid musk and slave girls, the stiff Baluch nerves succumbed to the luxuries of palace and palate.

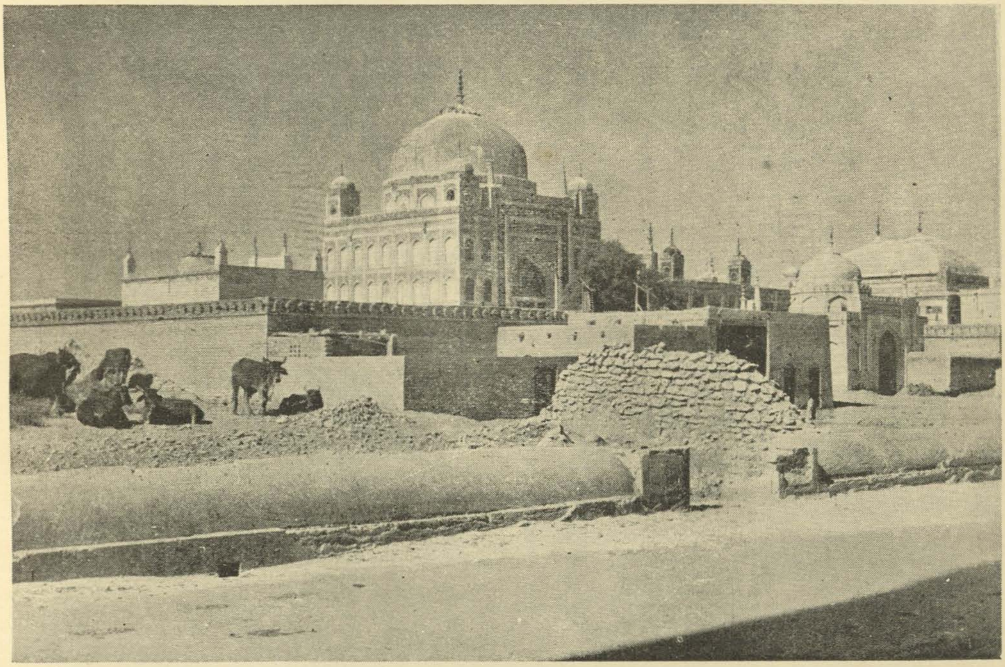
In 1842, Meer Naseer Khān ruled at Hyderābād; Rustam wore the royal diadem of Khairpur; Sher Muhammad parcelled out for him the masterdom of Meerpur, many leagues to the east of Hyderābād. Both the Lords of Khāirpur and Meerpur owed fealty to the shadowy suzerainty of the Hyderābād ruler, whose influence responded to the influence of the last Roman Emperors over the distracted provinces of the empire which were independent but in name. The vast majority of the nation was inimical to the men in power. Sind remained practically unexplored by European till Burnes in 1831, who made his way up the Indus on his way to Lahore. 'Alas'! said a Syed, 'Sind is now gone since the English have seen the river[1].' The middle of the nineteenth century offered to the British nation in India, a period of glorious achievement, to Indians a period of national misfortune, and to the Baluch race an age of unalloyed destruction and suffering.

To the frequent problems presented by a tumultuous military aristocracy and a dubious dynastic succession was now added a new peril, that of the English conquerors from the north-east. Grim warning began to pour into the royal chambers of the Meers beyond the Indus, by an irresistible power which had already swept the degraded independent states of divided India one by one, by playing one against another. The bayonets once hued red by the blood of the Indians from the confines of Burma to the heart of the five-rivered country, were whetted again for a grave test in a country where already its use was frequent. The past of the rest of India, was to be the present of the Sind Meers. It was a change, good or bad, is the function of an impartial pen to decide. The dense forests of the river marshes or Shikārgarh near Hyderābād reserved for the royal hunting parties, were resolved to be the sempiternal mourning grounds for the men of the royal blood—the royal hunters themselves were to become the helpless hunt. The splendid groves, near the Baluch capital, famous for brilliant assemblages of poets, songstresses and dancing girls never failing to enliven the hearts of the most misanthropic men, were doomed to become woeful places, for both the foes and friends.

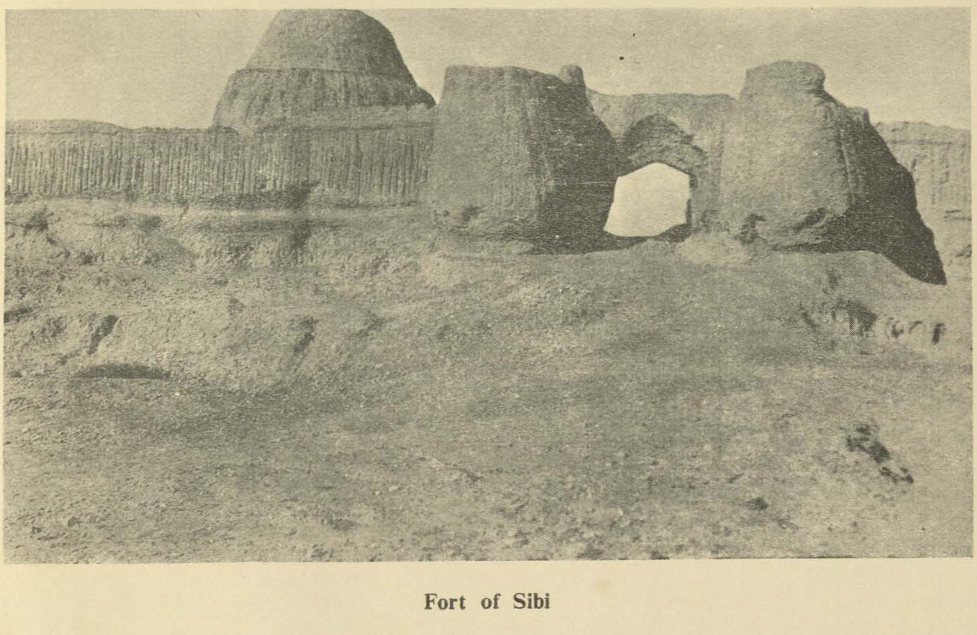
For every rise and fall, there precedes a cause. All historical changes admit their own special reasons and causes. But as regards the subjugation of Sind Ameerate, the pages of the Indian history pause for an answer and the causes of its conquest remain still a subject upon which historians love to linger. The only answer so far the pages of history can possibly give is that might is right—power and ambition must have their own ways and means. The annexation of Sind by the British arms is a blackest spot on the fair name of England.

Here is the *casus belli* of the battle of Miāni and the conquest of Sind according to the British version. The conquest of Sind is closely connected with the invasion of Afghanistan by the British, almost to the degree of its cause and effect. "The conquest

1. "History of British India", by P. E. Roberts, p. 325. (Third edition).



Tombs of the Tālpur rulers at Hyderābād (Meer Karam Ali's tomb in the centre)



Fort of Sibi



Meer Chākar's Mausoleum at Satgarh (Distt. Montgomery)

of Sind", writes Roberts, "followed in the wake of the Afghan war and was morally and politically its sequel[1]". The failure of the British expedition in Afghanistan hampered the Imperial prestige and it had to be countervailed in some other political field. The reverses of the British wars and their failures in Afghanistan paved the way for complete annihilation of Sind Meers. In 1844, a writer in the Calcutta Review said: 'the real cause of this chastisement of the Ameer consisted in the chastisement which the British had received from the Afghans'. In England, Elphinstone's disdainful remark was: "Coming after Afghanistan, it put one in mind of a bully who has been kicked in the streets, and went home to beat his wife in revenge[2]." Lord Ellenborough placidly remarked in one of his letters written to the Commander-in-Chief, dated 14th May, 1842 :—

'I see everywhere the effect of the reverses sustained at Cabul. The late successors of which I have made the most may have checked the feeling that was growing up that we had no longer our former power, but within the last few weeks there have been strong indications that we were no longer considered to be what we were. Major Outram has observed a commencing change in the Ameers of Sinde . . .' (This is in connection with the formation of an army of reserve).

The same impression is carried in a minute of 2nd September, 1842, by Sir George Arthur, Governor of Bombay, who stated that:

> 'There can be no doubt that most of the Ameers of Upper and Lower Sinde, have for some time past, been engaged in intrigues against us; in fact that they only want the power, not the will to make an attempt in invitation of the tribes of Afghanistan, to expel us from their country.'

The home authorities at England were decidely in favour of the move to subjugate the whole of Sind permanently. In a letter to MacNaughten of January 8, 1840, Lord Auckland writes that the Directors—

> 'attach with the Governor General the utmost importance to the complete maintenance of the British superiority in Sind and the navigation of the Indus not only during the occupation of Afghanistan but permanently'.

The Meers were also suspected of keeping secret correspondence with Persia. Colonel Pottinger (Sir Henry Pottinger) then Resident at Hyderābād remarked that 'we were certainly in the wrong, and that the communication with Persia declared on the part of Amirs scarcely justified an action.' As a result of the suggested Persian intrigues, it was determined in December 1838, to establish a subsidiary force permanently in Sind. Sir Charles Napier expressed his own view about the conquest of Sind, in a latter despatched to Outram in January 1843, of which a part is portrayed below :—

> 'Lord Auckland began by a great act of injustice, political injustice, which produced the treaties. Lord Ellenborough then came and had his line of policy, viz, to abandon all beyond and maintain all on the Indian side of the Indus. He found existing treaties with Scinde to maintain, but the only part of his predecessor's policy in which he appears to agree is the maintenance of free

1. "History of British India", by P. E. Roberts, p. 325. (Third edition).
2. Letter to Metcalfe: Life of Elphinstone, ii, 374.

traffic on the Indus, with possession of certain towns on its banks, the seizure of which was Lord Auckland's act; to keep them has been Lord Ellenborough's in compliance with treaties which no man of sense will say were well drawn up . . . Now I do not agree with you in thinking the Amirs are fools. I think them cunning rascals to a man if measured by our standard of honesty; but assuredly Lord Auckland's policy was not calculated to make them form a higher estimate of us. Well, they saw our defeat and that encouraged them to break existing treaties, it gave them heart, and that they hoped to have a second Cabool affair is as clear to me as the sun now shining . . . Now what is to be done? That which is best for the advancement of good government and well-being of the population; and we must not sacrifice all this to a minute endeavour, utterly hopeless, I may say impossible, to give to these tyrannical, drunken, debauched, cheating, intriguing, contemptible Ameers, a due portion of the plunder they have amassed from the ruined people they conquered sixty years ago. They are fortunate robbers one and all, and though I most decidedly condemn the way we entered this country (just as honest, however, as that by which the Talpoors got it from the Kalloras) I would equally condemn any policy that allowed these rascals to go on plundering the country to supply their debaucheries after we had raised the hopes of every respectable man in the country. This I consider to be Lord E's view and in that sense I act. If I thought Lord E. was acting on an unjust plan I would of course obey my orders, but should deeply regret my position. But I do no such thing, the whole injustice was committed by Lord Auckland, and such a course of injustice cannot be closed without a hardship on someone. It is likely to fall on the Ameers, and a crew more deserving to bear it hardly could it alight. It falls heaviest on Roostum, an old worn debauchee, a man drunk every day of his life, breaking his own religious ordinances, and even the habits and customs of his country[1].' Roberts in his history states that 'the British in India had for many years looked with longing eyes on the Indus river, but an early factory established at Tatta had been abandoned[2]'.

Mr. Innes more or less partially writes, 'that the case for annexation was not more or less deliberately manufactured[3]'.

P. E. Roberts again comments that 'an able and ambitious general, eager for distinction, and impatiently believing that the undoubted benefits of British rule justified almost any means of extending it, brought the rough-hewn ready-made solution of the soldier to bear an intricate administrative problem'.

A. I. Shand's statement is on the whole free from the prejudices of a partial historian. He writes about the Meers that, 'they interrupted the river navigation; they levied duties contrary to the treaties; they even passed an insolent decree that all the traders who had established themselves on the skirts of our cantonments should have their houses razed and their goods confiscated.

'From their point of view they were justified, and their action might be describ-

1. Napier, Life of Sir C. F. Napier, II, 300.
2. 'A History of British India under the Company and the Crown', by P. E. Roberts, p. 325.
3. 'A short History of the British in India', by A. D. Innes.

ed as patriotic. They had infringed treaties which had been imposed at the point of the bayonet. There had been a revival of former prosperity under the safeguard of British occupation, but it was the commercial classes and not the Princes who were enriched. Their pride was hurt by the protection extended to their fugitive subjects, and they suffered in revenue by the regulation of the river tribute. When it seemed politic to subjugate them they were charged with treachery and the 'treachery' was patent, for it would have been easy to have convicted them on legal points. But deception is the immemorial weapon of Orientals when the weak is contending with the strong, and the eluding of forced obligations could hardly be imputed as a crime involving destitution and forfeiture. Technically, it was a fair pretext and so we used it. Our sole reasonable plea was imperious and imperial necessity; appeals to rights or even to humanity were shadowy and hypocritical.

'If the Ameers were foreigners holding Sind by conquest, it was on conquest our own claims were to be based, and they could at least pleaded a sixty years' prescription[1]. '"Prior to Sir Charles Napier's arrival", states Outram, "the princes of Sind had been treated with the consideration due to their rank and that demanded by their own ideas of propriety. No sooner did that officer arrive amongst them than all was changed. They were addressed in a tone of arrogant contempt, which was as offensive as it was new and unexpected, the conventional courtesies to which they had been accustomed were suddenly dispensed with. Rumour told them that we contemplated the seizure of the country and the sudden dismissal from office of the diplomatic body, to which they had been accustomed, the imperious tones of the dictator who succeeded, on the extensive military preparations which they beheld, all tended to convince them that such was really our intention". Another clarification from an impartial pen unfolds the mystery of the tragic event:

"A few words are necessary in conclusion to prove", writes Eastwick, "that the conquest of Sindh was not only a crime, but, according to the French witticism even worse, a political blunder. Had the citadel of Haiderabad really contained the twenty millions that Sir A, Burnes' idly imagined—had the young Egypt of Lord Ellenborough really proved a stream of shining silver into our Mint of Bombay—then, indeed, there is too much reason to fear that every ear would have been closed to the wrongs of its unfortunate people. An individual might be found who would return ill-gotten gains—nay, there are many who, like Outram, would turn from lofty disdain from the half million of prize money which was so prominent a cause of the Amir's ruin—but when did a nation ever give back a profitable acquisition, however wrongfully obtained? It is for this reason that Sir W. Napier reserves his most powerful appeal to the last. It is an appeal to the strongest and worst of human passions, to our cupidity, but, fortunately for the cause of justice, the glittering lure he holds out, turns out to be mere tinsel[2]." Marshman writes: "The rascality is more apparent than the advantage, except to the captors, to whom it brought a rich draught of prize — money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of General-in-Chief". Mr. Gladstone later on disclosed that Sir Peel's cabinet, of which he and the

1. 'General John Jacob', by Alexander Innes Shand, pp. 57-58.

2. "Dry leaves from young Egypt", p. 301.

Duke of Wellington were both members, unanimously censured, of the conquest[1]. We conclude the issue with the following remarks of a famous historian, Ramsay Muir: "Sind is the only British acquisition in India of which it may fairly be said that it was not necessitated by circumstances, and that it was therefore an act of aggression".

The Meers found themselves burdened with a general liability to help the British forces en route to Afghanistan. Part of their territory had already slipped away from their hands, their independent position was crippled. The British occupation of strategic towns and ports and the passage of their troops via Sind was a matter which the Meer resented, but on the other hand Lord Auckland's threats thundered daily in the Meer's ear. Before the battle of Miāni, Sind in 1841, was shadowed by British authority almost to the extent of a subservient state. By the treaty of November 4th, 1842, all the important ports and central towns were occupied by the British.

Shāh Shujā-ul-Mulk, the Sadozai claimant to the throne of Kabul was dethroned and he made himself a British refugee. In 1839 the British Government with the intention of restoring Shāh Shujā-ul-Mulk to the Afghan throne, collected a force and marched through Sind en route to Kandahār through the dominions of the Khān of Kalāt. The Sind Meers and the Khān of Kalāt were ordered to facilitate the passage of the troops, by the collection of supplies and transport at their peril. The unfortunate march of the Imperial troops via twin Baluchi kingdoms, which were innocent of any designs as regards to any obstacles offered to the British expeditions for the recovery of the dominions of the ex-King of Kabul, brought their fall, through both the treachery of their ministers and by the intention of the Imperial Government to widen the frontiers of India, and a step to safeguard and secure Baluchistan and Sind from the sphere of Russian influence, and, lastly, for the defence of India. We are shocked to witness the twin Baluch states immolated on the altar of the ex-Afghan King's monumental failures to seize the throne of Kabul from the lion's mouth—Ameer Dost Muhammad Khān. Whatever might have been the object of the British over Sind, yet one cannot but remark that British Colonial aim was gently furthered by British guile through British statesmen, long before Napier's guns roared over the unfortunate land, which was deemed as an unceasing mine of colonial commerce in future. However, when two independent neighbouring powers march side by side, the one being weak, pinpricks from the stronger precede cannon shots.

The battle of Miāni and collapse of the Sind Ameerate

It will be useless to enter into details of the negotiations conducted with the Meers, but suffice to remark that Sind was to be conquered by dint of arms. The appearance of the British army in Sind struck the note of doom for the Baluch supremacy. The choice to accomplish it was placed on the shoulders of an appropriate general, Sir Charles Napier, who was 'a small dark-visaged old man . . . with a falcon's glance[2]' and 'always more under the influence of

1. Contemporary Review, November 1876.

2. Description by his brother, Sir William Napier, Op. Cit. i. 22.

excitement than of reason[1].' Napier's mad chase of fame led him to crown aggression in a way that he himself refrains not to describe. 'We have no right to seize Sind', he said, 'yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be. My present position is not however to my liking. We had no right to come here, and are tarred with the Afghan brush[2]'. Infact, Napier's phrase "agood, honest, useful piece of rascality, represents the common judgement[3]". The Hyderābād Meer faced with two choices, submission or sword. He preferred the latter. Disagreement already occurred among the Khairpur Meers. 'Ali Murād leagued himself with Napier and openly declared his enmity against his brother Rustam Khān, who was put to flight, but his part was taken by Naseer Khān who sent Mirza Khusrobeg to Napier, to give back the Jāgir of Rustam Khān duly usurped by his brother. The Meer's messenger met Napier and said that the Baluchis had taken the matter so much to heart that they would unsheathe their swords against the British. "And the fighting of the Baluchis", said he, "is not a trivial thing. You should be sure that Sind is not a cold pudding that you would eat so easily". "I am also for war", replied Napier, "let us see how the swords of the Baluchis resist the volley of muskets and guns". Naseer Khān managed to summon up a little more than ten thousand Baluchis but amidst his own ranks, he was deceived by the two formidable chiefs, Ghulām Muhammad and Yakhtiār Leghāri. The Meer is stated to have remarked later on, that "these Baluchis have done to me, what Kufis did to Imām Hussain". At Miāni on February 17th, 1843, the adverse forces crossed swords. At 9 o'clock Napier led the attack with his armipotent forces.. The great mass of the Meer's army was in the dry bed of the Fulaili river. They outnumbered some deal the British forces, but not in material. A sanguinary battle ensued and a gigantic military issue hanged in the uncertain balance of war. It was perhaps one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of Sind. Guns boomed from the British side like the bursting forth of a volcano. The British garrison surrounded the Meer's forces who were dissembled by skilful concentration and well directed volleys of the British. The Baluch cavalry in sallies, at erst, fell upon the enemy with the fury of despair but were constantly held off at great distance by brisk cannonade and a barrage of fire which mounted to an unprecedented fury. The Meer's battery performed its part admirably but the infantry met a disastrous blow. A great number of Baluchis were killed and wounded. The Baluch generalship completely failed and there was scant hope of success. It was a battle, where one side was niggardly equipped with instruments of war, and sheer hot bravery faced all the contrivances of available fatal arms. The whole scene was undoubtedly one of the most melancholic earthly sights. While the battle was raging hotly and issues yet pending, the unlucky Meer with the princesses watched silently from the top of the palace, the sombre prospect and the sudden progress of events. His own calculations gave all hopes of victory. The fight was precipitating into a great dismay for him. The Baluch forces melted away, and the flower of their chivalry lay stark and stiff on the battlefield. The Meer's end was

1. J. C. Marshman, History of India (abridged edition), p. 435.
2. The life and opinions of General Sir Charles Napier, edited by Sir, W. Napier, Volume II, pp. 218, 290.
3. "The Cambridge shorter history of India", by Allan, p. 667.

sealed. Defeated in all his designs, his fortune now lay prostrate under the heels of Napier, never to rise again. In an ill-omened hour the Imperial flag supplanted the crescent on the towers of Hyderābād fort. A desperate fight ended in complete victory. Six of the Meers came into the British camp and surrendered up that right which otherwise their founders might have in them.

The description of the battle of Miāni by Sir William Napier from his brother's account, remains unparalleled for graphic and well-delineated details:—

"The dead level of the plain was swept by the Belooch cannon and matchlock, which were answered from time to time by Lloyd's battery yet not frequently for rapidly and eagerly did the troops press forward to close with their unforeseen foes.

"Then rose the British shout, the English guns were run forward into position, the infantry closed upon the Fullailee with a run, and rushed up the sloping bank. The Beloochs having their matchlocks laid ready in rest along the summit waited until the assailants were within fifteen yards ere their volley was delivered; the rapid pace of the British, and the steepness of the slope on the inside, deceived their aim, and the execution was not great; the next moment, the 22nd were on the top of the bank, thinking to bear down all before them, but they staggered back in amazement at the forest of swords waving in their front! Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochs, in their many coloured garments and turbans; they filled the broad deep bed of the Fullailee, they clustered on the both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beaming in the sun, their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures, they rushed forward; and full against the front of the 22nd dashed with demonaic strength and ferocity . . . Now the Beloochs closed their dense masses, and again the shouts and the rolling fire of musketry and the dreadful rush of the swordsmen were heard and seen along the whole line, and such a fight ensued as has seldom been known or told of in the records of war. For ever the wild warriors came close up, sword and shield in advance, striving in all the fierceness of their valour to break into the opposing ranks; no fire of small arms, no push of bayonets, no sweeping discharges of grapes from the guns, which were planted in one mass on the right, could drive the gallant fellows back; they gave their breasts to the shot, they leaped upon the guns and were blown away by twenties at a time, their dead went down the steep slop by 'hundreds; but the gaps in their masses were continually filled up from the rear, the survivors of the front rank still pressed forward, with unabated fury, and the bayonet and the sword clashed in full and frequent conflict.

"Thus they fought in their fearful struggle, never more than three yards apart, and often intermixed and several times the different regiments, aye even the Europeans were violently forced backwards and pushed from the line, overborne and staggering under the might of the barbarian swordsmen. Nearly all European officers were now slain or wounded and several times the sepoys, wanting leaders slowly receded, but the General a skilful horseman and conspicuous from his peculiar headgear, half helmet and half turban, was always at the point of greatest pressure and then manfully the swarthy soldiers recovered the ground.

"Three hours and a half this storm of war continued without abatement and

still the Beloochs undismayed at their honour pressed forward the furious force, their number seeming to augment instead of decreasing. As the battle continued with unabated fury Sir Charles Napier . . . changed his strategy. He knew that the Beloochs could not be defeated in a frontal attack. So he devised a flanking movement on the right. This wing was lightly defended and so the surprise move proved successful and the Beloochs enveloped from the right were confronted with an attack from the rear. And yet they fought with enhanced ferocity.

"A soldier bounding forward drove his bayonet, into the breast of a Belooch, instead of falling the rugged warrior cast away his shield and seizing the musket with his left hand writhed his body forward on the bayonet, until he could with one sweep of his sword, for the Belooch needs no second blow, avenge himself. Both fell dead together."

"However, the battle was lost and slowly the Beloochs began to retreat, yet not in dispersion nor with marks of fear in heavy masses they moved keeping together with their broad shields slung over their backs their heads half turned and their eyes glaring with fury. The victors followed closely pouring in volley after volley until tired of slaughtering. Yet these stern implacable warriors still preserved their habitual swinging stride and would not quicken it to a run though death was at their heels.

"Two or three thousand who were on the extreme right having passed by the cavalry untouched kept their position and seemed disposed to make another rush. The whole of British guns were immediately turned upon them with such heavy discharges of grape and shells that they also lost hope and went off with the others. Such was the battle of Mianee fought on February 18, 1843. The front of the battle was a chain of single combat where no quarter was given, none called for, none expected: Sepoys and Europeans and Beloochs were alike bloody and remorseless taking life for life, given death for death. The ferocity on both sides was unbounded, the carnage horrible[1]".

Mr. Shand attributes that 'the Belooch were beaten, but not disheartened; they slowly and sullenly withdrew from the scene of carnage, and it seems strange that those hardy and savage warriors should have succumbed in close fight to a comparative handful[2]. Sir Richard Burton hints at bribes, and suggests that their steadfastness was shaken by suspicions of treachery'.

1. See also the Cambridge History of the British Empire, by H. H. Dodwell, Vol. IV, p. 537.

2. The number of the British forces engaged in the battle of Miāni according to the British resources was 2700 strong, but this is obviously wrong and can be verified from the list of the officers awarded rewards for their bravery in the field of Miāni as given in the gazette of Bombay Government, dated 23 August 1849:—

(1) European Commissioned Officers	—	—	104
(2) European non-commissioned officers and Sepoys		—	695
(3) Indian officers and Sepoys —	—	—	3762
(4) Officers of other departments	—	—	170
		Total	4731

** The British force in all probability numbered between seven to eight thousand. The British casualities were 2000, besides those who survived.

Though independence of Sind was hamstrung yet the whole Sind was not conquered. The number of killed in the battle of Miāni was 6,000 Baluchis and 2,000 British. The battle of Miāni drawned the Baluch liberty and sovereignty over Sind in waves of blood. After the blood-won victory, Napier made a search of the treasury and the royal palace and looted hair and hide everything that was most valued. After satiating the grinding instincts of his wickedest spirit in the terrible carnage of Miāni, feeding and soothing his imperious vanities from the spoils of the Hyderābād treasury, he speedily directed his expanding aspiration towards the hot-blooded Meer Sher Muhammad, and, thus, we see the fate and prosperity of Sind reeled under his terrible blows.

The 'Lion of Mirpur', Sher Muhammad, was still in command of a mighty force which remained to be cowed. On 24th March 1843, Napier's forces defeated Sher Muhammad at Dabo. The Earl of Ripon wrote to Queen Victoria about the defeat of Sher Muhammad:—"Lord Ripon, with his humble duty to your Majesty, begs to inform your Majesty that despatches have been this day received at the India House from the Governor-General of India and from the Governor of Bombay, announcing the successful issue of a battle, on the 24th of March, between Sir Charles Napier and Meer Sher Muhammad. The forces of the latter were completely routed, with the loss of all the guns and several standards[1]". Meerpur was secured on 27th March and 'Umarkot on 4th April. The whole of Sind came stark under the British aegis in June 1843. Napier was made its first Governor with great unexpected honours. He was not sure of gaining so many laurels as he himself remarked before he was given charge of Sind. "My fear is that they will send me to Sinde, where there is no honour to be gained". Napier received £70,000 prize—money and the Governor-General extolled the conqueror to the skies: "The army of Scinde has twice beaten the bravest enemy in Asia, under circumstances which would equally have obtained for it the victory over the best troops in Europe . . .

"To have punished the treachery of protected Princes; to have liberated a nation from its oppressors; to have added a province, fertile as Egypt, to the British Empire; and to have effected these great objects by actions in war unsurpassed in brilliancy, whereof a grateful army assigns the success to the ability and valour of its general; these are not ordinary achievements, nor can, the ordinary language of praise convey their reward."

Major Outram was offered by Napier a prize-money of £3,000, but he told the latter. 'I am sick of policy, I will not say yours is the best, but it is undoubtedly the shortest—that of the sword. Oh, how I wish you had drawn it in a better cause'.

The fearful carnage of Miāni could not satiate Napier's sense of savagery—he worshipped only one thing—his ambition. His towering frenzy dogged the Meers even unto the prison rooms. Meer Shāhdād, the elder son of Nur Muhammad was confined at Surat for the ascribed murder of Captain Ennis. On the 20th of May 1848, the Meer was tried by a special court and was honourably acquitted. But for five years he had been in the prison as a convict without any trial or proof. After his honourable

1. The letters of Queen Victoria, Vol. I, p. 481, edited by Arthur Christopher Benson M..A. and Viscount Esher, G.C.V.O., K.C.B.

acquittal, he ought to have been released but instead he was deported from Surat to Bengal, at a still greater distance from his home. While on his way to Bengal, this unfortunate royal scion conversed with a high British official on the affairs of Sind. Here is the actual description of the conversation as portrayed *in extenso* by the British officer:

'My conversation with Mir Shahdad was in such general terms as you may imagine between two strangers. Circumstances kept me on-board the steamer for about two hours and seeing a native of rank, I accosted him with the usual salutation, which was returned with the gentleman-like courtesy of an oriental. As well as I recollect, I commenced the conversation by inquiries about his voyage, and we went on to discuss the power of steam etc. etc. until he asked me when Sir Henry Pottinger would arrive. He said he should like much to see him, as he was a good friend to him and to his family. I think he asked me some questions about Sind, and Mir Ali Murad. Having lately been in Calcutta, I told him I had seen the Amirs driving about, and this led to some talk about Calcutta. He then asked me what Sir Charles Napier was doing, and in speaking of him he said he was a brave general, and he thought he might be a good man, but that he was ignorant of the language, manners, and customs of the East, and had no knowledge of the rights of the Amirs and people in Sind, nor how they should have been treated. That he had done his family great injury, which he would have refrained from, had he had the knowledge possessed by Sir H. Pottinger and the other gentlemen of rank who were accustomed to hold intercourse with native powers. This was, as well as I recollect, the outline of our talk. I remember being struck with the candour and generosity with which a Sindhian Amir spoke of a General who had subverted his state[1]'. Here is a surprising contrast between the humiliating language of Meer Shāhdād Khān with that of General Napier, in the following effusion, in one of the letters addressed to the former by the latter, when the former was captive: 'If you give me any more trouble, by stating gross falsehoods, as you have done in your two letters, I will cast you into prison, as you deserve. You are prisoner, and though I will not kill you, as you ordered your people to do to the English, I will put you in irons on-board a ship. I will answer no more of your letters, which are only a repetitions of gross falsehoods, that I will not submit to'. There is absolutely no proof, of any conviction against Shāhdād, alleged to have ordered his men to kill Europeans as written by Napier. Eastwick while comparing the above letter of Napier with the modest impression of Shāhdād remarks: 'Let any one compare this language of Shahdad's with that of the Napier's, and see which comes nearest to the precepts of our religion. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you". Sir W. Napier is filled with fury that the Amirs in their humble petitions have besought mercy in the name of Christ. Is he ignorant that the Muhammadan regard Jesus as a great Prophet, that they call him the spirit of God, Ruh Allah?

'Is there anything so strange that they should supplicate Christians by the name professedly most revered by them? Which of the two most profanes the Sav-

1. 'Dry leaves from Young Egypt, pp. 298-299.

iour's name—he who use it in imploring mercy, or he who shews no mercy? He who rejects the suppliant in that name, rejects him with a curse'.

Apart from the above notable criticisms, many of the then Indian papers acrimoniously censured Napier's policy. The Bombay Press condemned severely Napier, to which the latter attributed as 'a hireling press'. The pungent treatment meted to the princesses by Napier was noxious before the eyes of law and justice. The fatal revolution, which cast the princesses headlong from the summit of fortune to the nadir of calamity is a sad tale, indeed to pen. The standard of luxury and ease in the royal harem reached its culminating point. Nymph-like slave girls dressed in brocades, served the harem, they washed, wringed, brewed, baked and furnished the royal beds. Costly sheets, strewn finely with diamonds, sapphires and of the pearls white imported from Persia and Bahrein embellished the royal beds. Gold and silver found its price and pride through their embroidered shoes. Nurtured and nursed amidst such sublimities of fate, the princesses were completely reduced to destitution by the pot-head and pot-valiant general. Misfortune and misery rarely in its history hosted under its custody more delicate and exalted queens, blooming in extreme luxury than the Tālpur princesses. The distressful princesses disappointed in their efforts in conjuring the British General for mercy and justice, ultimately despatched a letter to Queen Victoria, a letter whose very beginning manifests utter grief and affliction of soul, each line of which is full by the sighs of the miserable ones. Here is the original text of the letter faithfully rendered by Eastwick:

'May the shadow of Queen Victoria increase, the pure and the magnificent as 'Bilkis' (the queen of Sheba).

'It is about two years, since Sir Charles Napier came to Haiderabad in Sindh with an army and artillery, and plundered our habitations of all our money, ornaments, jewels and everything of value, and at the same time he took from us our husbands the Amirs, and our children and sent them to 'Hindustan as capatives. Now as to us helpless women, who are devoid of power, seated in our houses—what manner of custom is this, that he should enter our dwellings, and plunder us of our valuables, leaving us not sufficient for our support? And two years have elapsed since he tore us from our houses and native city, and compelled us to dwell in huts like the destitute, allowing us not enough for our support, so that in one week we consume what he gives. God knows the hardships we suffer for our food and raiment and through our separation from the Amirs we endure such distresses and despair that life is distasteful to us. That one should die, when God wills it, is no calamity, but we endure with each successive day the torment of a new death, wherefore we cherish the hope that yourself being a queen, as we were once, and being able to sympathise with us, will take compassion on us and cause restoration of these things of which Sir Charles Napier has robbed us; and since our hearts are lacerated by grief at being separated from the Amirs, and our sons, by which, indeed we are brought to the brink of despair, you will remove this cause of distress, otherwise we should reckon it to be the greatest boon to put an end to our existence. May your days be lengthened[1].'

1. 'Dry leaves from Young Egypt', pp. 328-329.

Written on 27th day of the month of Shawwal, 1260 of the Hijra, at Haiderabad in Sindh.
Signature of the Begum of Mir Karam Ali Khan.
Signature of the Begum of Muhammad Nasir Khan.
Signature of the Begum of Nur Muhammad Khan.
Signature of the Begum of Mir Muhammad Khan.
Signature of the Begum of Mir Sobdar Khan.

In the same year, few months previous to the above letter, few of the Meers wrote to Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, a letter which carries in its scripts, the most horrible and portentous catastrophe that Sind history ever saw:

Copy of a letter from the Meers to the Governor-General of India (Translated from the Persian).

'May the rose garden of the state and of prosperity, the exalted of high degree, the asylum of pomp and splendour, the phoenix of the age, the Nawab of Great Titles, Sir Henry Hardinge, Bahadur, Governor General of the various Provinces of India, whom God preserve, be refreshed with the rain of Divine Grace. After many compliments, let it be impressed upon your excellency's mind that in consequence of your happy arrival we were in expectation of being gratified with an interview with your excellency, but as some time has expired without that pleasure, we now take the liberty of requesting the favour in question, which will afford us great delight. The oppression which has been exercised towards us, who were in enmity with the English Government, by Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier is, we presume, well-known to your Excellency. From the length of time during which we have been confined, we have experienced great depression of mind, but we entertain great hopes from the kindness of the English Government.

'May your Excellency's days be prolonged. The 25th of the Month of Shaban, in the year of the Hijra, 1260, corresponding with the 9th September, 1844[1].'

The seal of Mir Sobdar Khan.	The seal of Mir Muhammad Khan.	The seal of Mir Muhammad Nasir Khan.

Of the three separate Ameerates, Hyderābād, Meerpur and Khairpur, the two former being hostile and powerful were completely wiped out. The Khairpur chiefship feeble and less hostile to the British, was restored to the reigning family, tethered by sly and wise treaties, along with other incumbrances which permanently crippled their body politics. The venerable descendants of the Hyderābād and Meerpur Meers still exist with the empty title of His Highness, endowed with a meagre monthly allowance which even hardly suffice the monthly postage expense of an Indian native ruler.

His Highness Meer 'Alī Nawāz Khān

A list of doltish clowns, previous to 'Alī Nawāz Khān filled the vacant Khairpuri Masnad in quick succession, each emulating the other in their race for vice and vanity. A pussyfoot in his early days, Meer 'Alī Nawāz Khān scorned the very mention of spirits. Not a 'Hookah' was to be found in his court, and none of the royal progeny surrendered to any of the neurotic. But afterwards, a

1. 'Dry leaves from Young Egypt', p. 319, Appendix.

galaxy of pot companions made him an orgy of debauchery. We are told, that even when bitten to the brain the royal cup bearers trickled wine into his mouth till he became unable to perceive anything. Possessed of neither salient traits, nor general comprehensiveness of mind, his reign is known better for his achievements in the realm of luxury rather than administration. Khairpur, the capital, became a hot bed of vice—the tavern of Sind. He was followed in quick succession by several push-pin players, till, we see the state an integrated part of West Pakistan province in 1955.

The estimate of the Tālpur rule

The Tālpur rule was in nature a despotic rule, yet far free from its curses, peculiar to the arbitrary laws. In all the branches of fine arts and literature, the Tālpurs conveyed nothing to the Sindis but had to learn from them. The sixty-five years of their rule is practically not rich in literary achievement. Neither Persian nor Arabic was fostered or protected by the Meers. Their ambitious nature found expression through one medium, that of social ethics. Their dominion became the centre of the Shi'as—the creed of their rulers. Many institutions of Shi'a-ism were patronised by the Meers and even today, the Khairpur State champion the cause of the Shi'as of the province. Despite many drawbacks, their rule was not without the merit of strength. Raiding was checked, life and property were secure which had been unknown in the time of their predecessors. Lieutenant James in 1846 reported about the district of Chanduka and remarked: 'Thefts were scarce, much scarcer than they have been under the British Government'. For the detection of crimes, the Meers employed an excellent system. The liability for all stolen property depended on the village or estate in which the theft occurred, until the footprints of the thief were traced to another and in that case the liability shifted to the other village or estate. It, thus, became the concern of every landlord to see that he maintained no thief within his limits.

In theory, justice was administered according to the tents of the Qurān and the Shariah. The machinery of the law consisted of Kārdārs who decided cases according to the Holy Book, which was expounded by Muftis, who were expert in such legal lore. The people in general were Sunnis, and hence the law of the realm was that of the Hanafis. The Bokhāri, Tirmizi, Mota-i-Imām Mālik and the 'Fetwā-i-'Alamgiri were recognized as the books of law. The unwritten or the customary law of the Baluchis was sometime employed as a show of policy. The death penalty was seldom inflicted and usually the extreme form of punishment would be mutilation by chopping off the left hand or cutting of the ears, but the government was ready to commute these penalties for a heavy fine. The laws were, however, judicious and the administration was simple. The Kotwāl was the chief functionary invested with executive police powers but his jurisdiction extended over the town where he was stationed. The police force was hopelessly insufficient as compared to the present day standards. But the general administration was efficient throughout the realm. Peace and prosperity ruled where once lawlessness was epidemic. "But it may be doubted," to quote Shand, "whether the misrule was worse than what was tacitly sanctioned in Indian feudatory States." Jacob paints in his private notes, an almost ideal picture of the felicity enjoyed by the Ameer's subjects. He states that taxation was lighter

than under British rule, and that cases of bringandage were almost unknown.[1] The whole of Sind was divided into three chiefships that of Khairpur, Meerpur and Hyderābād. The last being the elder of the dynasty. Hyderābād, the capital, bragged of her beautiful gardens, hemmed on all sides with female slaves, imported from Abyssinia and Persia, provided every kind of luxury to the man of the royal stamp. The court of the later Meers were the seat of splendour, munificence, generosity and love along with sudden beastly ruptures of racial savagery which often ruled, side by side the court and the camp. In their dress they were sparsely princely, none of that mixture of gorgeousness which attend usually the royal garb of the Indian princes.[2] Majority of the line of Tālpurs were not far removed from the simplicity of nature and were enlightened princes gifted with intrinsic merits, armed with justice and power for the protection of their subjects. The peace and prosperity which they secured for the subjects whom they ruled fill some of the brightest pages of Sind history. Left to their fate, perhaps the Tālpur house could have attained a firm period of peace and power, but an ambitious Imperial power knocked down all their designs of sound and solid reconstruction, and unfortunately, the last ruler of the line never succeeded to ride out the storm that finally sealed their doom. In their person the Meers observed the true simplicity of Islām. "The mention of spirit", writes Burnes, "was offensive to them and not a 'hookah' was to be seen at their courts, nor did any of the family at that time took opium. With two exceptions they were of Shia sect, unlike Baluchis in general and they were very strict in observance of the religion . . . In their manner they were haughty and reserved, yet courteous and in exercise of true Baluchi hospitality extravagant". Majority of the Meers possessed passionate love for jewellery, fine swords, daggers and other arms. Meer Karam 'Ali Khān purchased from different countries excellent swords and daggers and imported many sword-makers, elegent calligraphers, painters and men of letters. "The Ameers," writes Burnes, "have agents in Persia, Turkey and Palestine, for the purchase of swords and gun-barrels and they possess a more valuable collection of these articles than is probably to be met with in any other part of the world. I have had in my hand a plain unornamented blade which has cost them a lakh of rupees[3]".

In the case of the parental hospitality of a true Baluch, they were more than extravagant. Their Government was a sort of mild despotism supported by feudal system peculiar to that of the medieval Europe. The whole system of cesses and revenue according to Lieutenant Postans was 'milder and more equitable than might have been expected under an absolute Government'. General John Jacob states that the first effect of the British rule was rather to increase than decrease the burden of the cultivators.

Persian was the court language besides the language of literature and business. Even Hindus, who craved services, were to acquire Persian knowledge.

Education under the Meers sought its way through 'Madrassas' conducted on oriental style. Masters of education were the 'Moulvis' who were bestowed allowances

1. 'General John Jacob', by A. I. Shand, p. 58.
2. See, "Visit to the court of Sind", by Burnes.
3. "Visit to the court of Sind" by Dr. James Burnes.

of grain at harvest time with other perquisites necessary to maintain their spiritual and material prestige.

The Meers began gradually to soften the rough edges of Baluchi life by introducing fine arts and scholarly pursuits into the obscure parts of their kingdom. Sindi language as well as Sindi ideas were preponderously influencing the Baluch old customs and the former was appearing decidedly to win the day. However, the Baluch and Sindi cultures blended into a happy synthesis. The court language-Persian-was steadily embracing Sindi under her bosom. The rulers began to champion the cause of the conquered more than the conquerors who continuously succumbed on all sides of administrative branches. The Baluch aristocracy was superseded by an heirarchy of people representing different nationalities. Such changes were unsuited to the interests of a semi-civilised race like that of the Baluchis. Consequently, Baluchism fell and instead degeneration marched triumphantly on.

As it was with Europeans during the middle ages, the Sind Baluchis preferred the pleasures of brigandage and the chase to any other. The training of a hawk or a hound was deemed a more enviable acquirement than the pursuit for reading or writing and would often feel pleasure in robbing a man than to be master of sciences or arts ever studied in Baghdād or Damascus.

The custom of keeping slaves was not uncommon among the Meers and the Baluch aristocracy. The slaves were generally domestic or household, not periodical as was amongst the Hindu princes. Innumerable African slaves found their way into the Baluch aristocracy through Muscat and Madgascar. Young slaves were imported and fetched from 50 to 150 rupees; but the Madgascar and Abyssinian slaves, especially the females, fetched from 400 to 500 rupees. The slaves celebrated for their vile qualities were almost treated as inmates of the family and their severence from the family sometime caused disgraceful crises.

During the Tālpur regime, Sind vied with other contemporary Indian states in the field of manufactures. The chief manufactures of the land consisted of ornamented silks, silver and gold work and lacquered ware. The industry flourished on the muscle power of the labour class. Hyderābād, the blooming capital, was the focus of cottage industry. "The natives are particularly ingenious", writes Postons, "as weavers, turners and artisans, and are noted for a very curious description of wooden lacquered work, which has attained for them a great reputation throughout India. The articles of this description made at Hyderabad have been esteemed as great curiosities even in England. Of these skilful workmen, only one is left at the capital capable of doing this specimen of purely Sindhi invention. The best workmen and artificers finding plenty of employment under milder governments, migrated to Bombay and other places, where they produce ornamented work in silver and ivory, admitting of a comparison with that of China. Country-made arms in Sind are much more superior to those of the most parts of India, particularly the matchlock barrels which are twisted in the Damascus style[1]."

1. "Personal observations on Sind", by Mr. T. Postons (1843).

CHAPTER VI

BALUCH SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE BALUCH AND THE BRAHUI HEGEMONY IN BALUCHISTAN

Corresponding to the twofold nature of Baluchistan, the Baluchis fall into two main groups nomadic Baluchis and settled folk. But no clear demarcation can be sharply drawn between the nomadic and sedentary inhabitants. The latter are too by taste nomadic but by profession settled. A Baluch is apt to say with swaggering assertion: 'The beauty of the night lies in the stars, and that of the forest in the Baluchis.' The nomadic strain is, however, on the ascendant. It is being remarked constantly that the blood of settled population is frequently being renewed by a nomadic strain. The merit and demerit, action and reaction between the desert and townsfolk are actuated by the urgent needs of self-interest and self-defence. The monotony and barrenness of the country is reciprocally reflected in the Baluch physical and mental make-up. His food and costume is simple and so simple are his demands. Obedience, hospitality, tenacity, bravery and endurance are his supreme virtues. The keen competition for water and pasturage are the chief causes of conflict between the various tribes. It has sometimes led to the complete extinction of one or another of the feuding families. The social organisation of the Baluchis was based on blood kinship, like all other primitive societies. Groups descended from a common ancestor, shared common interests and liabilities. Hence clan organisation has been the basis of Baluch society. Every sub-clan (pāro) represents a family, a few sub-clans combined together constitutes a clan and several clans grouped together make a tribe (tumān) and each tribe is ruled by a Chief. A patriarchal form of governments, i.e. deference to elders or head men, successively of the household, tent or of the village, of the clan, and of the tribe, was universal as is the case today. The chiefs were the main custodian of the Baluch society. They used to be the martial, administrative as well as judicial head of the tribe. A tribe without a chief was deemed as a body without a head. A chiefless tribe, if any, was scaled beyond the pale of honour, safety and protection. The social tie among the members of one tribe implies unconditional sincerity to the member of fellow clans men. As such the clan or tribe is a self-sufficient unit qualified to make peace or declare war with other clans.

The seed of tribal system, pattern of Baluch social organisation has been sown in Ameer Chākar's time, the tree came into full bloom under the Ahmadzai rule. The Brahui rule engrafted several foreign customs but in due course they were Baluchised. The Lord's anointed used to be the fountain head of all the power of the state as was the case in medieval Europe. The Baluchis, ere now, have strictly preserved their blood-pride-to them the Baluch nation is the noblest of all nations. They

seldom marry from an alien race. The practice of endogamy is strictly followed. The Brahuis pay little heed to the customs of endogamy and follow exogamy which is almost universal among them. Meer Muhammad M'asūm, the author of Tārīkh -i-M'asūmi (1011 A.H.) narrates a memorable incident concerning a Baluch nobleman who sabred a Tarkhān[1] chief of Tatha, who coveted to marry the daughter of a Baluch of Hyderābād district.

Royal life

In the day time, the Ameers or Khāns gave open Darbārs to their chiefs and nobles. The evenings were devoted to social intercourses and juvenile sports. Ameer Chākar enjoyed feats of sword-fighting, spear-play, and often rode on horse with his boon companions. Horse racing was extremely popular in his time. His cousin, Bibrak, who possessed in himself a salient, living spring of magnanimous and manly action, was an adept in the art of sword and spear-play and was famed as a horse breaker. The sport of kings i.e. hunting and horse-racing were the ruling passions of noblemen. Naseer Khān 'The Great' was very fond of hearing the historical anecdotes of Persian heroes and also poetical recitations of Chākar and Gwaharām's time. The most exalted Baluch composer of love-songs and of Sufistic doctrines of his time was Jām Durrak Dombki.

Khudādād Khān and his uncle Sher Dil Khān were fond of animal fighting and animal breeding. Sher Dil Khān, a man of phlegrian size, displayed his *tour de force* by fighting once openly with bare hands with a wild bear, and killed the beast. The fight of animals—camels and bulls was not uncommon and such fights of animals automatically animated the latent frenzies of Khudādād Khān and made him an apostle of violence. He was extremely fond of rearing animals, and we are told, that he possessed more than one thousand sheep of different breed, imported from distant countries. Apart from this, he maintained the finest stud in Baluchistan and more than five hundred camels of excellent shape, vigour and size. His daily expenditure on these animals amounted more than a thousand rupees[2]. He was fond of calligraphy which was in medieval ages a great qualification, and, indeed, a scholar was wanting in scholarship if he lacked this art. With calligraphy, its associates arts, colour decoration, illumination also developed.

The royal stable of Khān Mahmūd Khān II stabled few hundred horses, whose tails were cut off, leaving the fag-end only, which was his mania. His corybantic freaks, even led him to cut the tails of the horses other than his own. The inhabitants of the capital copied him in order to court favour, in as much as, the town of Kalāt became famous as the city of cropped-tail horses.

Among other royal hobbies, music accompanied with drinking was not uncommon. Chākar had in his retinue ten thousand 'Rawchhi' (singers, dancers, cup-

1. The Tarkhāns belonged to the Moghul blood. The terms 'Tarkhān' was a Mongol title conferred by Chengiz Khān to his most distinguished peers. The Tarkhān chiefs enjoyed power and privilege next to the Great Mongol Khān. After Tarkhāns, came in order of precedence, the Orkhāns nobles. (See "Genghis Khān,-" by Harold Lamb.)

1. Daily necessaries of life were too cheap those days. A soldier whose pay extended from two to three rupees monthly could not consume flour purchased for one rupee within a month even. The price of gold used to be twelve rupees per tola as compared to the present price of one hundred rupees or more.

bearers and story tellers). Mahmūd Khān I, was considerably fond of the poetry of motion and music and his palace was an asylum of inebriates. But the palm for luxuries and notoriety should be handed to Mahmūd Khān II, who consumed jorums full of wine amidst singers and dancers who crowned his passions. The most essential part of his hedonic activity was the acquisition of young ladies to his harem, to satiate his concupiscence. This ruler of the proud Brahui family spent lavishly fabulous sums on musicians of either sex. At one time, while rapt in extravagant reveries, his spasmodic passions and sacrilegious cupidity led the vicious ruler to sell one mosque to a Hindu merchant of Kalāt.

The Capital

The town of Sibi took its place as the most cultured and commercial town in the whole of Baluchistan under the Baluch Ameerate. It remained as the most celebrated capital of Chākar who maintained his imperial court with barbaric and luxurious pageantry patent to medieval glamour. The capital of the Rinds acted as the eye of Baluchistan and mother of gay societies and songsters. The past traditions speak of Sibi as the most high and palmy city of Baluchistan, housing a population of one hundred thousand souls. Chākar after his departure from Baluchistan, always would remember three exalted merits of Sibi—its hunting grounds, musk-melons and lastly, the picturesque scene of its surrounding gorgeous mountains after a draught of rain.

In Sibi, flocked poets and *beaux esprits* of Makurān, Sind and songstresses of Persian Baluchistan. Sibi boasted under the Chākarian regime, the beautiful Gohar, the Sappho of the Baluchis. She was the beloved of Chākar, a girl from Persian Baluchistan, who later on became the apple of discord between the Rinds and the Lāshāris which lasted for thirty years. The love stories of this demi-monde with Chākar are no less famous than those of the Greek mythical couple Philemon and Bancis. What a fine contrast the forsaken capital of the Rinds presents with the modern Sibi housing a permanent population of little more than four thousand.

The Brahui Khāns made Kalāt their capital. Usually in winter, the Khāns shifted their residence to Bhāg, in Kachhi, on account of the wrathful nipping cold of Kalāt highlands. The Khān would invite all the Baluch chiefs of the neighbouring semi-independent territories to assemble at Bhāg, where he entertained them with kingly virtues of liberality and munificence. Kalāt, the capital, was once a flourishing eporium between Persia, Afghanistan and Sind. The majestic mud fort commanding the Kalāt valley, bosomed with rich bounty a population of no less than forty thousand. Khudādād Khān once after the 'Id' prayer ordered to enumerate those who partook in the prayer; the number reached to twenty five thousand apart non-Muslims, females, children and those indisposed. In his time, the capital boasted of having five hundred shops of jewellers and diamond sellers, of whom many were Armenians, Kabulis and Isfahānis. Many Armenian graves are found in Kalāt, ere now. Kalāt developed in his time into a centre of attractions and worldly pleasures. Innumerable alien songstresses and slaves added tone to the life of the luxurious capital. In the narrow and packed streets of the town, Kalātis were seen strutting proudly, wearing black loose trousers, huge embroidered silk turbans, waistcoats enriched with ornaments and fine embossed shoes. Usually, every morning people assembled in front of

the Meeree, prior to their daily activities. The Khān according to the custom of the Moghul Emperors of India, appeared in the vestibule of his royal palace, to shed his grace and bounty upon the people. An alarm of swaddling bands alarmed the masses about the appearance of the Royal face and with the highest pitch of devotion, people greeted the Khān. The capital life fell into a complete torpor when all the moral excellence and worth of the reigning house having been drained by an inherited course of debauchery. The same Meeree—nucleus of the capital life—afterwards in Mahmūd Khān II's, time became the chief resort of drunkards, opium eaters and negroid slaves, and the lavish use of the royal treasury on perfumes and red wine imported from Persia was a common sight. The Meeree life under him became famous for amorous propagation. It is now completely abandoned and the town has been rebuilt on a new site. The old Meeree is considered now as a haunted place, completely deserted, owls and vultures are occasionally to be seen on its tops, mocking at the mementos of man's mutability. After the deposition of Khudādād Khān and the occupation of Quetta valley by the British, the scene of glory shifted from the highlands of Kalāt to the fertile valley of Shawl (Quetta), henceforth, the future capital of British Baluchistan. It wholly drained the population of Kalāt and Kandahār. The fortune of Quetta left Kalāt and Kandahār high and dry and reduced all the trading centres of Baluchistan to the position of a low water mark. Within a time of fifty years Quetta grew from nothingness to a Baluchi centre of wealth.

The Society

The population of Baluchistan was divided into three social classes. The ruling and the aristocratic class was the privileged one and by birth-mark occupied a position of distinct superiority than the man in the street. The aristocracy had unlimited powers undefined by any existing law. They were related to the group to which the chief belonged, hence commanded a special precedence in the tribe and none dared to dispute their power and prestige. The oath on the beard, head, or dynasty of the chief bore the same odour of sanctity to the tribesmen as is the case with Qurān. The aristocracy and the men of parts used to get fat annuities from the contemporary governments. In the distribution of tribal lands they claimed specific shares than the rest. The Rinds under Chākar inherited privileges, franchise and liberty more than other tribes of Baluchistan. Thenceforth, the Rinds became the elite of the Baluch race. Even now, the Brahuis use 'Rind' as a generic word equivalent to Baluch. During the Ahmadzai rule, the Brahuis enjoyed more status than any other tribe within the boundary of the state. Such were the legal privileges of the Brahuis in the middle of the nineteenth century, that they ravished the verdant fields and property of the neighbouring tribes, with the least heed paid to the law of the land. To them fair was foul and foul was fair.

The Jats, Jadgāls, Loris and Golās

This group of tribes formed the lowest stratum of Baluchistan's society. The Jats, Golās and Jadgāls would be mainly farmers and tenants; they owned very little landed property under the Baluch or Brahui hegemony. In the tribal affairs, they had absolutely no racial, or social voice, neither they were well off to claim Islamic rights of citizenship nor as countrymen. Even today, whatever be the financial status of a Jat, yet to an ordinary Baluch, he is deemed to be a Jadgāl—a man of mean parent-

age. Bravery, pride and jealousy of the Baluchis had been their best and worst qualities. The proverbial arrogance of 'Rinds' in Makurān has exposed them to many haughty vocations: "A jam may be jam, but he is a Jadgal by descent, and therefore is no equal of the princely race of the Baluch[1]." All these tribes i.e. Jats, Jadgāls and Golās are of Indian origin. Even in the time of Baluch and Brahui domination, these neophytes were similarly treated as they are today. "Though enumerated with the Buledis," writes Hughes-Buller about Golās, "they are looked on by other Baluch as occupying a low place in the social scale. Common report assigns them a slave origin, and as the word Gola means slave in Sindi, it is quite possible that the belief has some foundation in fact[2]". The Jats, Jadgāls, and Golās were employed by Rind Meers as slaves. Many individuals of these tribes distinguished themselves under the Rind rulers who had advanced them to high command by virtue of their qualities as slaves first, then as soldiers and finally as leaders. In ancient Baluchi ballads, the conjunction of the Jats with Baluchis is frequently mentioned. Al-Mas'ūdi the 'Herodotus of the Arabs' in his encyclopaedic historico-geographical work dated A.H. 340 (A.D. 951) mentions the Jats living with the Baluchis side by side in the Kirmān Province of Persia. The distinguished orientalist, M. J. de Goeje, has collected from the works of medieval Muhammadan authors some interesting and invaluable information concerning Jats (addressed Zott or Zatt in the works consulted), in his 'Contribution to the history of the Gypsies' in the 'Koninklijke Akademie Van Wetenschapper' of Amsterdam, 1875.

A tradition attributed to 'Abdullah bin Mas'ūd states that once in the company of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him), they saw a certain people whose features according to the former resembled to that of the Jats. This indicates that the Arabs were not foreign to the Jats in the sixth century A.D.[3] Al-Belādhuri mentions that the Zatts (Jats) pastured their cattle in the Tofuf, the lowlands of the Eupharates, in the vicinity of Babylon. An old canal adjacent to Babylon was known, for a long time, as the 'Canal of the Zotts'. They were too scattered in Khuzistān. Al-Belādhuri while mentioning the provinces conquered under the Caliphate of Caliph 'Umar (A.D. 635-644), adds also the 'Territory of the Zatts'—the territory between Ramhormuz and Arrajan. This territory was mentioned in old chronicles as very rich and prosperous.[4]

Al-Belādhuri states that Caliph M'uāwiyah in A.D. 669 or 670 transmigrated innumerable families of the Zatts and Sayābija from Basra to Antioch on the Orontes, and other ports of Syria. In the third century of the Muhammadan calendar, there was 'the quarter of the Zatts' in one of the quarters in Antioch. Many other Zatt colonies were implanted in Syria by Walīd I and Yazīd II.

The Zatts (Jats) of the Kaskar lowlands gained complete mastery our the regions of lower Tigris during the rough days of war, ensued between Al-Amīn and Al-Mamūn, the sons of Caliph Hārūn-ur-Rashīd, the Charlemagne

1. Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, vol. VII, Makran, by Hughes Buller, p. 100.
2. Census of India, 1901, vol. V-A, Chapter VIII, p. 133.
3. Tirmizi Abwāb al-Amthāl.
4. See Istakhri and Ibn Haukal.

of the 'Abbasides. Such was the turbulent spirit of the Jats that they pillaged the highways, trampled the caravans and sacked the granaries of Kaskar, wherefore the adjoining districts became for a considerable time as the Court of King Petaud. In A.D. 820, matters reached to its climax and people no longer ventured to pass through their territory. In 820 and 821 A.D., the then Caliph in order to pick a quarrel with them sent a fruitless expedition. It hampered the prestige of the Caliph who found himself in a pie's nest. This state of affairs lasted till 834 A.D., when the successor of Al-Ma'mūn determined to enter into contest with resoluteness and courage. In the end of A.D. 834, after nine months' grapple, the Jat intruders were succumbed and their leaders underwent *peine forte et dure*. They are reported to have numbered 27,000 persons, of whom 12,000 were able to bear arms. They were transported first to Khanakin, and then to Ainzarba (Anazarba) on the northern frontier of Syria.

In the year 855 A.D. (according to Tabari and Ibn-i-Athir) when the Byzantines sacked Ainzarba, they captured all the Zatt prisoners of the town; carried their women, children and cattle. In Sind, al-Belādhuri speaks of 'the Zott of Al-Bodha'. They lived to the West of the Indus and their chief profession was camel rearing. They marketed their produce at the town of Kandābil—the modern Gandāwā.

There is a close connection between the Gujar, Ahir, Jat and Golā. A famous proverb is current to the effect that 'the Jat, the Gujar, Ahir and Golās are all four hail-fellows well met'.

There is also a possible immigration of a section of the Jats into Armenia. Zenobius[1], a Syrian Bishop and Primate of the convent of Innaknian who flourished in the early part of the century from 300 to 400 A.D., furnishes in his historical work an account of a Hindu colony in Armenia:—

> 'This people had a most extraordinary appearance. They were black, long haired, ugly and unpleasant to the sight. The story of the idols worshipped by them is simply this: Demeter and Keisaney were brothers, and both Indian Princes. They were found guilty of plot formed against their king, Dinaskey, who sent troops after them, with instructions either to put them to death or to banish them from the country. The felons, having narrowly escaped the pursuit, took shelter in the dominions of the king of Valarsaces, who had bestowed on them the principality of the country of Taron. Here a city was founded by the emigrants, who called it Vishap or the Dragon. Fifteen years after their settlement in the country both the brothers were put to death by the king. He, however, conferred the principality on their three sons, named Kuar, Meghti and Horian. After a certain time these three persons changed their abode and settled on the mountain named Karki, a pleasant locality abounding in all things necessary to existence combined with a delightful climate. Here they built temples and set up two idols dedicated to Keisaney and Demeter, in honour of whom attendants were appointed of their own race. Keisaney had long flowing hair, in imitation of which his priests allowed the hair of their heads to grow, which custom was afterwards prohibited by authority. This class of people after being converted to Christianity were not deeply rooted in their faith. They durst not,

1. Translated by Johannes Avdal, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. V, p. 331, Calcutta, 1836.

however, openly profess the religion of their pagan ancestors. They continued, therefore, dissemblingly to allow their children to wear plaited hair on the crown of their heads in remembrance of their idolatrous abominations'.

It is also traditioned by the Jats that some of them originally migrated from Herāt and Ghazni and further hold that the famous conqueror, Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni, brought them to India. There was, undoubtedly, a great amalgamation of different races in the armies of the Ghaznavid conqueror. In the reign of Sultān Ma'sūd, Indian (Hindu) troops with the Khurāsān and Turkoman forces beseiged Kirmān and also they took part in the war waged against the Saljukides at Dandanked, near Merv, on the 9th of Ramzān 431 Hijra (23rd May 1040 A.D.), which precipitated in the defeat of the former.

Colonel Todd attributes to Jats as being of Scythian origin probably representing the "Scythian" Getoe of classical authors. It is worthy of notice that country beyond river Sihun, the Jaxartes of the classical authors was known by the name of Jateh or Jitah. In the 14th century Timur led many expeditions personally into the Jateh. Beyond Jatah lay the Dast-i-Kipchak, and Mongolistān. It is stated that when Timur was conducting his conquest on the left bank of Oxus, he was compelled to recross the river so as to repel the attack from Jatah. After putting the enemy into flight, Timur halted at Maidān-i-Gujrāt or Gujārāt[1]. From here he advanced to kesh, the enemy, under the governor (Darogha) of Jatah fled before his advance.

The Loris are the gypsies of Baluchistan and are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. They are handicrafts-men and the women function as midwives, also sing ballad and other celebrating verses regarding past historical anecdotes. The very name Lori has a scornful significance in the country. The following compendium is of the Loris life according to them:

Wanderers we were born,
Wanderers we live, and
Wanderers we shall die.
When our belies are stocked,
We pray. When our belies are
'Empty, we cheat—for are we
Not the rightful sharers in
The food and the drink of
you all? No birthplace nor
Home nor burying ground is
Ours. Our birth is in the
Jungle and the desert. The
Desert and the jungle are
Our home and our grave'.

The Baluch in the country would address a Pathān with the appellation of 'Khān', the latter honours the former as 'Māmā' (meternal uncle). The Brahui would address the Baluch as Meer, and the former is extolled by the latter as

1. See "Zafarnāmeh", p. 86.

'Thakari'. The Jat, Golā and Jadgal were addressed as 'Rais' both by the Baluchis and the Brahuis.

Slaves

The slaves stood at the end of the social register. The custom of slavery among the Baluchis has been a Persian precedence. Ameer Chākar is said to have distributed forty thousand maiden slaves among Rind families. The slaves used to be either prisoners of war or were purchased. As shown by the poems of the day, that the Rind Chiefs of past times boasted by the possession of innumerable Persian and Jat slaves in their courts who served them with all kind of ease and luxury. Co-habitation with concubines was permitted by the custom of the land. Khudādād Khān is traditioned to have embosomed more than four hundred incony women of dubious reputation, all dressed up to the knocker, with braided locks intwined in duskier wreaths, to satisfy his wild passions on his nuptial bed. Reports thrill about a striking reflection of an unbreakable record of three hundred and eighty issues from these paramours, sprung out of the royal stem. The burlesque potentate, Mahmūd Khān II's, contribution exceeds more than his father. He kept beautiful beardless boys, beautifully dressed in effiminate fashion and were employed for dancing. Many eunuchated negro-slaves were attached to the service of the harem. It became customary for tribal chiefs and officials to send as presents, beautiful slave girls to the Khān. The system of slavery was so much encouraged under the Khānate rule, that even today seventy per cent of the Kalāt population consists of slaves who have been mainly responsible for many vicious intrigues in the history of Kalāt. The Makurān chiefs would often employ negro slaves (Naqibs or Darzādās) originally imported by the Meds from the African coast via Muscat.

Among the Brahui nobles, even today, it has become very common to keep selected number of paramours. The extent of the slaves depends upon the wealth of the Lord and Master. The custom of dancing young boys among the Brahuis, in due course of time, has become a matter of great distinction, thus, giving birth to many secret and infamous kidnapping institutions to steal young boys.

Home life

In the early Baluch society, women enjoyed liberty to the extent permitted by Islam. Under the Rind supremacy, women took part in wars, commanded troops and attended all sorts of noble gatherings. The suppliance of ammunition, rations and medical assistance were rendered chiefly by women in the time of war. This system still survives among the Baluchis of Persian Baluchistan where women equipped with all modern instruments of war fight shoulder to shoulder with their men in the battle field. In no way, they are less brave and energetic than their sisters of the west. To her the love of her country is as dear as her own life. In the tribal area (Marri and Bugti) women perform the duty of farming and cattle-rearing apart from their home work. The tribal territory women, enjoyed and still enjoy a great measure of freedom denied to her sedentary sister in the town or city. In the absence of their husbands, they serve the guests to the best of their means. Hospitality is the most sacred duty to a Baluch and his door is always open to welcome guests, even enemies. Evidence is not wanting regarding the mother of Naseer Khān I, when she gave audience to Nobles and Chiefs in the absence of his son, and on various occasions, she accompanied

her son to battlefields. Bibi Ganjān, mother of Khudādād Khān, with veracious insight, discussed with the Nobles of the day the politics of the time. A woman of great talent and virtues, she was noted for her sagacity and wisdom. It was only in recent times that among the Baluch chiefs the system of absolute segregation has been introduced. It is because of the demoralisation of Baluch society, indulgence in luxury and lavities characterised by excessive concubinage which had lowered the status of women and turned the domestic affairs of the aristocracy into a seat of contention and mean intrigues. Hardly a man of patrician order is apt to spare any time to meddle with outside politics than that of his own family. All the home born happinesses are abrogated by home-bred mischiefs. The care of children and the management of household affairs are completely under the cyprian maid-servants.

The dress patent to the Rind women of Chākar's time has, hitherto, changed very little. The head dress used to be cotton wrapper (Shāl), instead of modern shirts, they worn long shirts (Pashk) little above the anklets with open cuffs ornamented with needle work, trousers of silk (Kanāvez), and the neck was adorned with embroidered scarf. Among other adornments, the use of bracelets (Thawkh), ear-rings (Dur), nose-ring (Pulloh), and anklets (Pāi-zeb) embellished sometime with jewels was common.

A maiden's or a widow's weeds comprised of a white, pocketless shirt, and trouser devoid of any decoration or embroidery. White shirt without any pocket was the emblem of a maid. The woman's hair were divided by a parting in front, brought round the ear and made into two plaits at the back. Man's garb has been affected very little since medieval ages. The common headgear would be the huge turban (Dastār) made of white muslin, tied on cotton stuffed, close-fitting hats. Wide trousers of preposterously large size, loose white shirts covered with an outer cloak (Kurti), sandals (Swās) made up of dwarf palm were mainly used by mountaineers. Embroidered waist-coats and coats were also popular among the nobility. The usual unlimited growth of beard and hair (Birekh) or (Mahfar) is still the pride of the twentieth century Baluch conception of fashion. The hair like today were worn in a long queue. On their heads came razor none, nor shears. No where in the Islamic world, the preservance of beard is so strictly followed as among the Baluchis. The growth of beard even extends to a length of one and a half feet and a foot in width—the locks reach to a length of four feet. To a Baluch the maintenance of a pledge is so sacred that to keep it, he would even play with his life, and the most sacred thing which binds him to a pledge, is his beard. The respect and sacredness of the beard can be estimated by a most fascinating event which happened recently. A Sindi Baluch of Khairpur State, once hard pressed to pay a debt of rupees four hundred, requested to a certain wealthy Baluch for a loan of Rs. 400, in consideration of three hair of his beard, promising, if, he were a true Baluch, he would pay back the money and would take back his hair. He was given loan, and likewise, after two years the debtor paid the money and took back his invaluable security. The Khān of the day generally worn turbans brocaded with gold and silver—a sort of calamanco—tied on long concial caps wrought and enriched with diamonds and golden threads; coats of pure silk embossed with flowers of golden threads, baggy trousers of varicoloured silk (Kanāvez), instead of sandals (Mozhugh), they put on long boots, peculiar to the time.

Mahmūd Khān II, daily changed his dress thrice and the dress once used was ordered to be torn into two halves. If his lunatic choice fell on a certain cloth meant for shirting, then he ordered for hundred shirts to be made out of the same stuff and of the same design, though he seldom used one out of it. The remainder, as usual, were torn into two pieces. After his death, thousands of worm-eaten brocaded dresses of costly stuff were found in heaps. Even his whimsical humour did not spare his shoes, all of which were disfigured and made into pieces.

The dress of the common Brahui has not changed, hereunto. It consisted of a stuff poor in quality, closely resembling that of a Baluch. Simple shirt (Khuss), buttoned on the right shoulder, with open buttonless sleeves was the popular garb, over it prevailed a kind of tunic (Shāl) made of camlet extending nearly to the feet; it was sometimes profusely embroidered by the richly class, trouser of poor description (Shalwār) narrow at the bottom, head gear consisting of a peculiar conical cap made of wool, furnished an ordinary Brahui to be highly attired according to his status and means. Pastoral folk used sandals made from the fan-palm, and the inhabitants of the town, supposed to be more civilised, used a strange type of sandals 'Chawat' roughly made from goatskin, stitched and sewn by laces made from the same skin. The nobility according to use and wont would wear costly dress and in the Darbārs held by the Khāns, the distinguished peers of the Khānate wore the cap of maintenance.

The Baluch beau-ideal of man has varied very little even in modern times. Formery, a real Baluch was he who had once committed a robbery and escaped, secondly he who had murdered at least one man in his life, and, lastly, he who possessed a swift and a stout mare. A Baluch prefers a mare to a horse, and hence the Baluch adage: "A man with his saddle on a mare has his saddle on a horse, a man with his saddle on a horse has his saddle on his head." A man unfulfilling above three conditions was deprived of any matrimonial relations with any one and nobody offered him, his daughter in marriage. A bard composed by Bālāch, of Gorgezh tribe, wonderfully depicts the usual and essential paraphernalia of the typical Baluch hero:—"The mountains are the Baluche's forts, the peaks are better than any army; the lofty heights are our comrades, the pathless gorges our friends. Our drink is from the flowing springs, our cup the leaf of the dwarf-palm, our bed the thorny brush[1], the ground we make our pillow.

'My white sandals are my steed, for my sons you may choose the arrows, for my son-in-law the pointed dagger, for my brethren the broad shield, for my father the wide-wounding sword[2]." A true Baluch had to experience certain barbaric tests of chivalry before he was enlisted either in the register of enterprizing individuals or wanted to cross the line of bachelorship. He had to set the Thames on fire, if, he desired to take to his bosom, the bride he liked. The ideal of feminine beauty according to the lucid expression of poets was that a woman's height should be like Alif (First alphabet of Arabic), moving with the serpent like grace or like the monsoonic winds, her eyes red like that of a pigeon, her cheeks like the dawn of the day, hair

1. N.B. in the text translated by Dames, the word written is thorny brush; it is thorny bush.
2. "Popular poetry of the Baloches", by M. Longworth Dames, M.R.A.S. Vol. I, p. 45.

(mahfar or Birekh) like Zāmar (an ever green creeping plant found on high ravines in Baluchistan), curls like black snakes, eyebrows thin and arched like the new moon, eye lashes like arrows, lips thin as paper, mouth small bedecked with teeth like pearls (Marwārid), bosom like an apple and the fingers long and pointed with nails dyed red with henna (Hinna).

The home of a Baluch in past times used to be an armoury of shields, helmets, hauberks, cuirass, spears, swords and match-lock guns (Jazār) but totally destitute of any luxuriant furniture except hand woven carpets. All Baluchis of full age carried with them a sword, a bow and a shield of leather studded with brass. In war time the warriors used coats of mail, generally imported from Persia. The helmets were made of plates of iron clamped together with nails and shaped like an ostrich's egg. The foremost article of worth and value for men were the different kinds of weapons which they carried with them and their chivalrous attire and attitude remained unimpaired even, hereunto. Their aim of life challenged fairly the Arab concept which is depicted charmingly by an Ummayed poet of the medieval age: "Our lot (i.e. man's lot) is to kill or be killed or be taken captive-women's part is gracefully to manage her train." The Baluch food used to be very simple, a lamb (Thel bar) or a sheep cut into two pieces was placed on wooden bars fixed on the ground between the fire, and, thence, the roasted meat (Sajji) was prepared in a very crude form yet very delicious and digestive[1]. The bread (Kāk) was baked by enveloping dough around a round stone and putting it on the embers. An apophthegm beautifully explains the Baluchis rough taste and appetite: "The belly of a Baluch contains the intestine of a wolf". The food of Jats (camel breeders) consisted of milk and its bye-products. The common Brahui food badly lacked costly viands. The favourite common food consisted of Zurrat (Andropogon Sorghum), the staple food grain and the preparations of milk curd, cakes of dried whey (Krūt) and cheese made with Withania coagulans (Paner). The food menu of the aristocracy varied by the standard of their prestige and wealth.

The use of chairs was introduced under the Khānate rule in the middle of the nineteenth century. The uses of drugs were not unknown. The Rinds were indulged in alcoholic drinks, as many songs and poems of the day team with the praise of wine and other intoxicants. While, in Kalāt, the use of opium and other forbidden beverage took its root since the Persian influence in the middle of the 18th century. At present, two-thirds of the population of Kalāt proper are opium eaters. The use of tobacco found its way into the land through the Moghul rulers of India. Till the middle of the nineteenth century, tea was unknown both to the men of the palace as well as to 'the men of the street, while the dawn of the 20th century saw green tea a necessity of life for an ordinary country folk. It will not be a surprise to engage for a while, a native labourer for a cup of green tea. Those once hardy people of Baluchistan whose abodes formed the goat-hair tents which never saw a lighted lamp, and the naked ground served as the bed, and stone used as pillows, have become now so ease-loving, specially the tribal chiefs, that the delicacies of the modern world have

1. This was also the medieval Mongol way of roasting meat. Today no Asian race except the Baluchis and the Tartars follow the method.

become an indispensable item for them. Power always leads to luxury and luxury to cowardice and cowardice to utter annihilation. The British imperialists during their regime gave immense powers to the tribal chiefs, who, in turn, yielded to cruelty and corruption. Previous to British rule, the chiefs had to depend upon their personal virtues of generosity, valour and tenacity, and the nomadic tribes to maintain their characteristics such as hard life, courage, and the desire for all manly virtues, had to follow the principal of 'group mind' or solidarity which used to be the pivot of tribal life. When the chiefs became a lethargic class and the leadership failed, the tribes, too, abandoned their rough and hardy life and are now soon giving way to sedentary way of life instead of nomadism. The tribes once a source of terror for all, have become now an easy prey for any aggressor.

To the modern chiefs the maintenance of a fine bungalow furnished with cushions, tables and beds covered with copes, floors covered with carpets—richly figured, dyed and skilfully worked is the coveted aim of their life. The once simple food has given place to sumptuously regaled dinners served within silvery trays.

Pastime

Under the Baluch rule, during the 16th century, the indoor games of the aristocracy used to be chess (shatranj) and dice (Tas). Notable outdoor games consisted of horse-racing, archery and hunting. The Rinds were particularly fond of archery and keeping trained greyhounds (Tāzi) for hunting. With veritable merits they would challenge: 'Is there any race in the world who can dispute our pre-eminence in horsemanship, swordsmanship and poetry?'. For small games falcon (Bāz) and hawks (Shikrā) were kept and still practised by the Sārāwān and Makurān people. The chief amusement in the time of all festive occasions was horse-racing, dancing (jhumar) and shooting at a mark. Wrestling peculiar to the Roman style (Mhal) was the favourite pastime among the men of the lower order. 'The amusements of the Baluchis', writes Pottinger, 'are such as may be expected among a wild and uncivilised people. They are enthusiastically fond of every species of field sports, and much of their time is passed in shooting, hunting, and coursing, for which purpose, they bestow a great deal of attention on the training of their grey-hounds. Firing at marks, cudgelling, wrestling, practising with swords, and throwing the spear, are likewise all favourite diversions with them. The four latter they understand scientifically, and at the first some of them are so incredibly expert as to invariably hit a target not more than six inches square off a horse at full gallop. The guides killed at a distance of 50 or 60 yards every small bird, such as larks or sparrows, at which they fired with a single ball, nor was this considered as any signal proof of their dexterity as marksmen'.

Naseer Khān I, was extremely fond of chase and he organised many regular hunting parties; Koh-i-Mārān (the mountain of snakes) was his favourite place for hunting mouflon (Gurānd). Khudādād Khān, too, was passionately devoted to the game of chase and he lavished money on hunting parties. Mahmūd Khān II, could not spare anytime for venatical pleasure; but with his cups, he delighted himself in the chase of his nuptial bed. 'Azam Jān was very fond of horses, and kept a long string of picked Arabian and Australian breeds. He ordered the royal stalls to be built near his palace, so that, he could get a view of the animals when desired. Music, with the exception of few rulers, would be the delightful diversion of the Khānate

rulers during night festive gatherings. Under the Rind Ameers, the chief music consisted of various songs: martial, religious and love songs. Among the musical instruments, were used the tambourine (Damberav), the flute (Nar) which is a rough form of vertical flute, sufficiently long than the Persian 'Nay'. In case of epic songs, the melody was commenced in harmony to the voices of Tambourine and Drum (Dhul). Occasional concerts and musical parties were held on marriage festivals, circumcisions, and other religious festivals—'Id, etc. The town of Sibi became for a period of half a century the nursery of song and stringed instrumental feats. Music and song struck and counterpoised their alliance with versatile poetry. Under the Khānate rule music and poetry took its deep roots, specially, in the time of Mahmūd Khān I, Khudādād Khān and Mahmūd Khān II, whose time became famous for all forbidden pleasures. Sindi dancing girls clad in the finest attire, animated magnificent parties in his royal palace featuring dances and songs. Mahmūd Khān II, himself was a master player of guitar (Rabāb). Music had such an effect upon his mind that he would be senseless and intoxicated with concord of sweet sounds. His musical parties attracted the fancy of many singers and dancers from Mastung, Shāl, Peshāwar and Sind. The blossoming of music in the two sister cities of the State—Kalāt and Mastung—are due to this efferous prince. The cultivation of the musical art in the luxurious city of Mastung had its own merits. Most congenial indeed, was the soil of Mastung for exuberant luxuries of heart and soul and Kalāt mostly supplied the fruits of the mind. To each middle man, must belong a guitar-man (Rabābi), a dancing boy and a 'Tabalchi, with few others to reincense and reanimate his stupid caprices and coitions.

Commercial and economic life

The key position of Baluchistan has necessitated her to be the main artery of trade between Central Asia and Sind, via Bolān Pass which was the route of the Aryans in their earliest migration to the Indus valley.[1] The main imports from Central Asia via Bolān were wool, pistachio nuts, dry fruits, madder, carpets, furs and postins and the exports were wheat, piecegoods, food grains, sugar and cattle. In earlier times commerce was impeded by the insecurity of the Bolān Pass owing to the forays of the neighbouring tribes. Afghan caravans, consisting of nearly one to two thousand families passed through the pass with armed escorts. It was mainly for the protection of Bolān as a trade route that compelled Ahmad Shāh Abdāli to attack Kalāt in 1756. In the time of Ameer Chākar, report speaks of Maiman traders of Gujrāt residing in Sibi, supplying the inhabitants with all sorts of Indian goods, perfumes, oils, molasses, tobacco and piecegoods. Makurān, the maritimous part of Baluchistan, from time immemorial, has been the centre of trade between Bahrein and India. The Makurānis carried trade with the rest of the world and were professed traders. Afzal Kirmāni, in the close of the 12th century, during the reign of Malik Dinār, gives an interesting account of Makurān's trade: "Another important city in Makurān is Tiz," he states, "and the inhabitants of Hind, Sind, Abyssinia, Zanzibar, Egypt and the country of the Arabs from 'Oman and Bahrein trade there. Every kind of musk, ambergis, indigo and logwood, and aromatic

1. See Lassen's History.

roots of Hind, and slaves of Hind and Abyssinia and Zanzibar, and also fine velvets, shawls, shashes, and the like rare products have their market at this post. Near Tiz is Mekran, the mine of candy and sugar, which they export to all countries of the unbelievers and of Islam'. The famous Arab Geographer—Yāqūt ibn 'Abdullah al-Hamwai mentions the fame of Mekrān for its candy and sugar[1]. Ibn Haukal (350 A.H.) states Qanjpur (Panjgur) as the biggest city of Makurān, famed for its Sugar-Candy, dry dates and Fānīz...a sort of sweet meat which was exported to the entire world famous markets. The Capital of the ruler as stated by him was the city of Kaneer, nearly half the size of Multān. The author of 'Tuhfut-ul-Kirām', states that the caravan from Makurān ventured as far as Cutch and Gujrāt. The Makurān traders traded with Arabian ports of Basrah, Muscat and penetrated to Zanzibār and Madgāscar, in Africa. Chief imports consisted of silk, sugar, perfumes, musk and wheat etc., while exports were salt, fish, shark fins,raw wool, dwarf palm, etc.

In the middle of the 17th century slave trade from Africa was very common and slaves were sold throughout the length and breadth of Baluchistan. The Darzādās, Nakībs and other servile classes in Makurān peculiarised with flat noses, crisped hair, thick protruding lips and colour black as soot, are the descendants of negro slaves imported in the country by the local Meds. Their complexion has not changed the least; in the words of Thomas Fuller that, 'God's image done in ebony'. At present Ceylon and Muscat are the chief trading centres of Makurān exports, specially dry fish, dwarf palm and dates. The port of Pasni because of its proximity with 'Omān and Persian centres of trade and the prosperous city of Kech (Kiz) and Panjgūr as its thriving hinterland presented always the picturesque scene of commerce and trade. It had considerable fame in former days. In 1581 A.D., Luis De Alymeyda, a Portuguese, burnt 'the rich and beautiful city of Pasni'.

Industry

Baluchistan has never been famous for its industries. Nomadic notions of the people, poverty and few requirements of simple life seldom encouraged arts and manufactures. If at all, any industry existed, it exists even today in the same primitive form. The work of embroidery stood at a high level during the Rind supremacy. Makurān and Sibi districts boasted for needle work and even today the embroidery of Kech and Lehri claim international fame. Caps, sword belts, cloaks, bed sheets and carpets are artistically worked upon. The embroidery work of Lehri (Kachhi) has become very popular recently and the bid-price for certain articles of luxury, embroidered in purple magenta silk have risen to more than a thousand rupees. The many looms of Makurān produced sufficient number of carpets and rugs for home consumption. In 1838, at Tump flourished one hundred weavers and at Turbat one thousand[2]. Under the Baluch sovereignty the Nushki Tahsil was famous for its handicrafts. The Baluch women of the place used to be the chief weavers; rugs (khont), carpets (ghāli), and woollen overcoats of thicker fabrics (shāl) were the main manufactures. Industries of pottery and wooden ware were the pattern of Sibi. The hand-

1. See 'M'uajam-ul-Buldān'.

2. Baluchistan District Gazetteer, Vol. VII, and VVII-A, Makurān and Khārān, p. 220.

made pottery of Kurk (Sibi) were of par excellence and fetched good price in the local markets.

Kalāt was once famous for jewellery, silver and gold ornaments. Pearls, diamonds and rubies were unduly loved by the royalty. During the nuptial rites and ceremonies, uncommon display of gold and jewels satiated the royal vanities. Since Mahmūd I, till the capture of Khudādād Khān, an Armenian colony at Kalāt supplied the royalty with jewels and diamonds. Shāh 'Abbās (1584-1629) pillaged Georgia and Armenia in 1600, 1603 and 1618, whereby a large number of Armenians were transported in various Persian provinces of Isfahān, Afghanistan and Makurān, etc. In Ush Narai (Camel Pass) in Baluchistan, Armenian inscriptions engraved on stones were found recently.

The town of Bhāg under the Khāns boasted of a number of factories which produced robes of honour—articles of furniture, coloured wooden articles and kitchen utensils. Jacobābād (Khān Garh) yielded brocades and woollen cloaks. Kech was noted for its camel hair fabrics. Gandāwā (the Ganjaba of Chākar) was famous for silver and golden works (zargari). Chākar is said to have given a diamonded silver comb, a sword with golden scabbard studded with gems and an ornamented golden girdle which saw no rival in the world, to his cousin, Bibark, a gentleman of perfect courage and spotless honour. The former is reported to have used golden saddles and the rest of the nobility used silver saddles and embellished armours. Chākar's royal guards possessed Arabian steeds, caparisoned with gold, and scimitars with ornamented scabbards, bedecked with golden buckles. The general belief prevalent among the Baluchis regarding the Rinds as great alchemists and famed to have possessed elixir by which they transmuted base metals into gold, resulted in many grotesque stories about their fabulous wealth and generosity which cannot be speculated by the oracles of reason.

The town of Dhādar served as the Sheffield of Baluchistan. It was famous for war instruments, daggers, giambeaux and swords (Johardār), but inspite of this, we find, Chākar composing verses in praise of Isfahāni and Indian (Hindi) swords. Swords in possession of the Bugti chief were of great fame. In 1845, Aslam Khān, the then Bugti chief, when asked by one of his men about the price of a sword handed down to him by his ancestors, replied, 'the price of my sword, will provide the whole Bugti tribe (male and female) a days meal'. The number of Bugti tribe in his time numbered a little less than fifteen thousand souls. In 1925, when Ameer 'Ali Ahmad Baluch of Bampur fled to Makurān, his son Ameer Nausherwān possessed golden armours adorned with jewels, containing gold weighing fifteen seers.

The leading mineral resources which made in past the industrial life possible in the country were the sulphur mines of Haft Wali near Sanni (Kachhi), lead from Ferozābād (Jhālāwān), Iron from Khuzdār, Gypsum from Khattan, Spintangi and Rās Koh, Coal from Khost and Bolān, limestone and building stone from Nāsik and Jāndrān, copper from Robāt Koh.

Agriculture

Physical aspects have favoured very little in making Baluchistan an agricultural country. A large part of the cultivated area consists of land which is entirely dependant on rainfall, a very small proportion of land possesses perennial sources of irrigation.

The physical geography necessitated the population to be nomadic; to its inhabitants a desert is more than a habitat. The rainfall varies with the altitude from 4.95 to 10 inches. Agriculture received great impulse under the Baluch Meers. Sibi, the capital of the Rinds, with its neighbouring districts of Dhādar and Gandāvā were the chief source of the state income. In Kachhi and Lehri, deserted farms, old canals and ruined villages are still witnessed which reflect the remains of a once flourishing population. Various old underground channels of water (Kārez) in Mastung, and Makurān still owe testimony to the Rind art of irrigation. In the fertile valleys of Marri and Bugti, traces of past irrigation are apprehended and according to the local tradition, all these lands were brought once under exuberant irrigation by the Rinds. Even today, the Rinds are theoretically supposed to be the ancient water-diviners and geologists of the country. Ancient Baluchi records hold Chākar responsible for digging canals in Dhādar, Sibi and Marri country. Exclaims a bard by Meerhān, cousin of Chākar, the then governor of Dhādar, that in his time the patent crop of Dhādar were Hashīsh and indigo (Nil). The staple crops of Sibi consisted of wheat (gandum), barley (jau), millets and cotton (karpās). About the cotton production of Sibi district, Meer M'asūm in his history of Sind written in 1600 A.D. writes, 'In Kor zamin and Chattar, which are district of Siwi, cotton plants grow as large as trees, in so much that men pick the cotton mounted. On each cotton plant there are one or two hundred snakes, of a span long, so that men are obliged to brush them off with sticks and drive them away before they can pluck the pods[1]'. "To the example and encouragement of Nasir Khan," writes Masson, "the inhabitants of Kalat are indebted for the various gardens in the neighbourhood of their city. This wise prince, who really seems to have had the welfare and comfort of his subjects at heart, distributed premiums to such of them as devoted their labours to horticulture. He made grants of land, and the proprietors documents, on the authority of which, water for their necessary irrigation, is supplied free of charge and for ever[2]'. The well regulated canals and singing floods of river Ṉāri during Khudādād Khān's regime turned the Kachhi desert into a green carpet of verdant herbage. Makurān rivalled other places for its dates (Ṅā or khurma). The principal localities were those of Kech and Panjgūr. More than hundred kinds of dates are grown in the Makurān of today. Mastung under the Khānate developed very much. A network of 'karezees' was sketched out by dint of which, Mastung valley turned by cultivation into fruitful fields. In spring, hereunto, it is a vegetable emerald—a graceful landscape festooned with mulberry. Her gardens yielded many varieties of fruits, specially grapes, apricots, almonds, plums, cucumbers and water melons. Water melon of Mastung weighing some times more than twenty seer were exported to Kachhi and Sind. 'The fruits of Mastung', remarks Cook, 'are deservedly famous. Of the grape there are no less than five varieties: (1) a fine, long white grape, measuring 1-1/4 inch, and weighing about 80 grains—it is fleshy, and resembles an English hot-house grape; (2) a smaller one of peculiar shape, resembling a pear; (3) an oval one of ordinary size; (4) a small oval one having no seeds, the flavour resembling the muscatel; and (5) a large purple coloured grape[3]'.

1. Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 237, Dawson's Edition.
2. Narrative of a journey to Kalat, by Charles Masson, p. 415.
3. 'The country of Baluchistan', by A. W. Hughes, pp. 67, 68.

The Kandābīl (Gandāwā) of Ibn Haukal, then the centre of Buddism, was one of the granaries of India. Gandāwā vied with other districts of Kachhi as a productive land. It was the entrepot of trade between Kalāt highlānds and Sind. It boasted under the Rind Ameerate, of the beautiful Hāno, the daughter of Mandav, the remarkable woman of her age. Her parents decided to give her in marriage to Sheh Murid Kaheri son of Sheh Mubārik. As it happened one day, Chākar along with Sheh Murid had been outside for shooting whence the former saw her and visited her home. The sweet, silent, rhetoric of persuading eyes of cherubic Hāno, won the soul of Chākar who insisted upon Sheh Murid to interchange the maid with his own bride. Hāno's figure and form, taste and charms for poetry and fashion, eclipsed all the admired beauties of cupid, and enamoured all those who had a chance to bargain few cordial looks with her. Chākar forcibly married her. In the beginning Sheh Murid proposed, she refused. In the end she proposed and he refused. Sheh Murid's jealous, overrated blind love carried him off for thirty years away from his native land, whence he visited the twin holy cities of Islam. Thirty years wanderings, hardships and love episodes after this lady of the day, are immortalised in his amatorial verses, which, henceforward, became a part of the literary heritage of the Baluchi world. His composition in poetry, teems with past regrets, present misfortunes and future fears of the lover which are deemed indisputably the marvel of the Baluch amorous poetry, hereunto. His poem seeks its praise not in loud praises but in deep meditation and love's whisper. It is traditioned that Sheh Murid lives till the crack of doom as Saint Sakhi Sarwar supplicated the Almighty to bestow on the former eternal life in view of the services rendered by him to the Saint. Armed with virtue and piety, wit and wisdom, he is revered as the 'Khidhr' of the Baluch race.

Gandāwā

Apart from horticulture, the cultivation of flowers was introduced by the rulers of Kalāt. "His own garden, or Bagh-Khan", writes Masson about Mahmud Khān I, "he consecreted entirely to Flora, and amid a profusion of roses, jasmins, and the many coloured gul-abbas, was wont to spend days together, exhilarated by wine and music, and surrounded by dancing girls[1].' The rose-gardens of Mastung were famous throughout the country and many perfumes and essences were extracted from it. Khuzdār still holds its monopoly of natural grown Narcissus more than any other part of Baluchistan or India. We are to believe, Ibn Haukal, who states that Kusdār (Khuzdār) was famous for grapes and pomegranates and was the blooming capital of Tūrān (central Kalāt highland.) Yāqūt stated that Kusdār was a city of peace and prosperity to an extent that theft and robbery were unknown to its inhabitants[2]. Bashāri al-Muqadāsi writes, "Kusdār is situated at a distance of twelve manzil from Tiz, a port of Mukrān[3]". Another geographer narrates that it was at a distance of twenty manzil from Multān[4]. The descending showers of spring time turn the desolate valley between Mungachar and Mastung into a momentary glory of

1. "Narrative of journey to Kalat", by Charles Masson, p. 415.
2. M'ujam-ul-Buldān, vol. VII, p. 78. (Egyptian edition).
3. Ahsan al-Taqāsim fi-m'arifat al-Aqālīm, p. 385 (Leyolen).
4. Taqwīm al-Buldān by Abul Fida, p. 349.

colour and fragrance, richly spotted with red wild-grown tulip flowers. The Brahui children in the time of spring are found on both sides of the road with bunches of tulip flowers to be given to the travellers at a cheap price.

Kalāt the capital, with its natural fountains yielded luxuriant crops of wheat and vegetables. Hence the old Kalāti province: 'Kalāt ra chi gham, kih Dodrān dar baghal ast' (Why Kalāt be care-crazed when Dodrān—a name of spring—meanders near).

Baluch character and rules of honour

One is bound to form an idea about their character, that their qualities are such as belong to man by his original nature, and which he always manifests in all parts of the globe where still society is free from unnatural and artificial innovations. "The tribes of Balochistan", writes Masson, "hold but an inferior rank in the grand scale of society, whether as regards their intellectual advancement or their acquaintence with the arts of life; yet, with the errors and excesses generally attendant upon ignorance and a savage state, they have some good natural qualities, and many of those virtues which seem to glow and flourish with brighter lustre and strength under the shade of barbarian's tent, than under the more costly canopy which civilisation expands over the heads of her sons[1]'. The character of the race has been to a great extent, moulded by the physical features of the country. Its diverse climate has trained the inhabitants to bear the treachery of seasons. A Baluch can live with as much ease in the hot plains of Kachhi as in the highlands of Sārāwān and Shāl in the winter season. The barrenness of the soil, featured by a long chain of interlocated and untraversable mountains, has exposed them to all the vices and values of a true nomadic life. To fight gallantly with nature is their daily business. Common ties of blood have ever sowed the seeds of common feelings and sympathy, engraving upon their minds all the virtues of a generous and philanthropic man. "It may be noted", writes Dames, "however, that the Baloch exalts generosity into the first of all the virtues, while greed is condemned as the worst of crimes, entailing the most severe punishment[2]." With all this, the barrenness and inhospitality of land has made them incurable thieves, hence the adage, 'The Baluch who steals secures heaven to seven generations of his ancestors'. Courage was standardized by the number of raids committed. Being encircled all round by two brave and haughty nations, the Afghans and the Persians, it had necessitated them automatically to be head and heart strong in order to face their neighbour's spasmodic waves of aggression. Their intense obedience and adherence to their chief, has made them humane and faithful. The vices which expose an Afghan when he is lavishly paid for, are quite unknown to an ordinary Baluch. Treachery is the worst of all crimes to a Baluch; he is a trustworthy individual with all the good qualities of his blood. Hospitality and bravery are their heritage[3]. "They are a frank", states McConaghey, "good mannered people and in the characteristics of truth and honour are superior

1. "Narrative of a journey to Kalat", p. 418.
2. 'Popular poetry of the Baloches', by M. L. Dames, p. 28, (Introduction).
3. "The Country of Baluchistan", p. 41; 'Across the border', by Oliver, p. 25.

to their Afghan neighbours[1]". An eminent statesman draws a critical picture about the character of the two mighty races, the Baluchis and the Afghans:

'If we take the Afghan, or Afridi, as the northern type, and the Rind Baluch (the Arab) as the southern type, then the distinctions drawn by late writers generally hold good. The Baluchi is easier to deal with and to control than the Pathan, owing to his tribal organisation, and his freedom from bigoted fanaticism or blind allegiance to his priest. He respects and honours the chief of his clan, who possesses far greater authority in the tribal councils than is the case with the Pathan. The Pathan is a republican of the worst type. He is a law unto himself, and although he is very much under the influence of the Mullah, he has always an eye to business, even in his most fanatical outbursts. Both are warlike and predatory, but their methods of fighting differ essentially, even when engaged in inter-tribal warfare. The Baluch fights openly, and faces his enemy boldly. There is a rough form of chivalry amongst the Baluch warriors, who are in most respects worthy descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia.

'The Pathan will make use of any strategem or subterfuge that suits his purpose. He will shoot his own relations just as soon as the relations of his enemy, possibly sooner and he will shoot them from behind. Yet the individual Pathan may be trusted to be true to his salt and to his engagements. He has his own code of honour, a very crooked code, and one which requires to be well understood. Physically there is little to choose between the best representatives of either people. It would be difficult to match the stately dignity and imposing presence of a Baluch chief of the Marri and Bugti clan. When clothed in raiment which is decently clean (which only happens at a Darbar), with his long hair well oiled and ringletted, and his trappings of war-knives, sword and shield, all well polished and slung easily about—he is as fine a figure of a man as can be found in Asia. His semitic features are those of the Belouin, and he carries himself as straight and as lofty as an Arab gentleman of Nejd[2]." Another account states that "the Baluches are a handsome, active race of men, not possessing great physical strength, but inured to changes of climate and season, and capable of enduring every species of fatigue. In their habits they are pastoral and much addicted to predatory warfare, in the course of which they do not hesitate to commit every kind of outrage and cruelty—they are considered to be a hospitable people. After the fashion of other barbarous tribes in that part of the world, they will protect and kindly entertain a stranger while their guest, but feel no scruple in robbing and murdering him as soon as he has left their precincts[3]."

Mr. A. I. Shand gives a graphic account of the tenacity and bravery of the Baluchis:

"All these Belooch, whether they fought on horseback or on foot, were equipped with formidable weapons. All were athletic and muscular men, sun-dried till they carried little but bone and sinew. Theirs swords broad and short, slightly curved

1. Baluchistan District Gazetteer, Vol. III, Sibi district, 1907, compiled by Major A. McConaghey, I.A., p. 60,

2. "The Indian Borderland", by Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich, pp. 184-185.

3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. III, 9th edition, p. 303.

and of the finest temper, had edges almost as keen as that of Saladin's scimitar when he astounded the crusaders by severing the floating veil. Napier asserts that in all their forays they were attended by professional sword-whetters. Be that as it may, they proved themselves terrible antagonists in many a Homeric single combat, and were as dangerous when their wounded strewed the ground as the Dervish swordsmen of the Soudan. They carried matchlocks besides, a weapon which Sir Charles Napier demonstrated a few years later to be infinitely inferior to our old Brown Bess . . . These wild warriors played the game of war well according to their irregular rules; they studied surprises and excelled in ambushes; they fought when all the chances were in their favour, and fled with no sense of shame when outnumbered. But courage was the common quality of all. When cornered, they fought it out with desperate resolution and died to a man rather than yield[1]'. As a martial race, their worth can be fairly judged by the remarks of a famous British statesman: "The third measure of this policy", "remarks Demetrius, "as it may be termed of limited defence, would be to raise a corpse of 10,000 Belooches—perhaps the best fighting men in Asia as a set off against the Czars Turcomans[2]". The Persian writer, Razm Arā, writes; "The Baluchis are veracious and honest workers to the backbone. If some valuable article or a document be entrusted to them, they will never misappropriate it and will never spare their lives for its protection and safety. They are uncivilized, but even in that state are contented and proud . . . . . . They are famed for their bravery and martial spirit, as Firdausi in his book has compared them to wild ram, for they would be armed to the nail and never turned their back from the warfield . . . . . The Baluchis treat their womenfolk with justice and equality[3]." In short, we can safely suggest a sound political prescription best suited to the three great people i. e. the Persians, the Afghans, and the Baluchis, to make them peaceful neighbours and best allies; starve the Persian, feed the Afghan and entreat the Baluch with magnanimity.

Their nomadic notion of life is further thrilled by silly superstitions which are not uncommon among other semi-civilised races of the world whose experience starts and ends within their mountains. The science of defence, artless sincerity, bravery, forbearance, simplicity of manners, determination and superstitions are the virtues which a Baluch masters under the tutorage of Nature in the vast academy of nomadism. Horsemenship, poetry, generosity and fidelity were the main scales by which the pre-eminence of the tribes were determined.

Like the Roman augurs, the Baluchis followed a superstitious rite of driving omens from birds, and prone to superstition, believed in chance and evil omens. Hitherto, one of the ways of drawing an augury is to examine minutely the blood vessels on the scapula of a newly killed sheep. The same practice was common among the Mongols of Chengiz Khān's time, and until now, it is seldom followed by few Turkoman tribes of central Asia. The Baluch mind and heart is full of idle fancies and scruples in regard to religion-scrupulous beyond need. His character with a slight

1. "General John Jacob", by A. I. Shand, p. 19-20.
2. "Central Asian Questions", p. 162, by Demetrius C. Boulger.
3. 'Jughrāfiya-i-Nizāmi Irān by Ali Razm Arā Chapter V, p. 42.

tincture of superstition and tradition has exposed itself to the excessive nicety for priests. Every tribe had their patron saint, who could always be relied upon to give heavenly aid in times of war, famine, pestilence, and personal trouble. In many grave criminal cases, judicial procedure was followed with its trial by fire and water through a priest as was the case with the Franks of the Holy land, as told to us by Usamah.[1] Justice was usually meted out according to the immemorial custom of the tribe. The principle of compensation was the basis for the whole system of justice. In certain cases, as stated above, where there were strong presumption of guilt on the part of the culprit, strange ordeals were employed as was once current among the German tribes of the medieval ages. Two ordeals were used: hot iron and cold water. The culprit had to lift on his hand a rod of red hot iron. If his hand was not burnt than he was deemed innocent. In the second type of ordeal, the culprit was thrown inside the pool. If he floated he was guilty, if he sank for a limited time, he was innocent. The custom of infanticide, as was the case with the pagan Arabs, was a common sight among the Baluchis even after the advent of Islam. The birth of a daughter in the family was considered as the greatest curse of God. Even in the early decades of the twentieth century, many cases of infanticide occurred in the Gishkhauri[2] tribe of Sibi district.

Among the many superstitions common among the present Baluchis, few are more enchanting. For instance, if a shooting party on their way meet a fox, the whole party return and postpone shooting on the same day, for the appearance of the beast omened ill of the enterprise. Similarly, if some one resumes a journey, he has to observe a certain star which should not face the traveller—for instance, if he sojourns east to west then the star must be towards the east on the day of starting, otherwise, he will postpone his journey till the day when the star through its rotatory system faces his back, contrary to the direction which he follows. Being once the founder and master of the science of Astronomy, the Baluch life has been much exposed to the supposed influence of the stars. Even the seasons of the year are known and calculated by the rotation and movements of certain groups of stars. Similar customs were prevalent amongst their ancient ancestors, the Kaldians. Likewise, various other phenomena had to be taken into account in moments where positive action had to be taken. In like manners, in ancient times the Assyrian rulers appealed to the priests for oracles and often consulted astrologers regarding the appearance and position of the moon and stars at the time of war or journey and often at the time of some grave happenings such as accidents or epidemic diseases. Here is an instance when the Assyrian king's son wishes to set on a journey. The father sends Balasi and Nabu-Akheirba, and gets the reply: "As for Ashurmukinpalea, about whom the king, our lord, has sent to us, may Ashur, Bel, Nabu, Sin, Shamash, and Ramman bless him. May the king, our lord, witness his welfare? Conditions are favourable for the journey. The second day is favourable, the fourth day very favourable[3]."

1. Philip K. Hitti, Translation. An Arab-Assyrian Gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusades, Memoirs of Usamah, Columbia University press, 1929.
2. The Gishkauri tribe is scattered in Persian Baluchistan, Sind and Derājāt country. The chief's family at Sibi is the direct descendant of the memorable Bibark, the Rind.
3. "Handbooks on the history of Religions", by Morris Jastrow, Jr., P.H.D., Vol. II, p. 340.

Strange is the custom of roasting meat. According to the Baluch mode, it is incumbent that the bars supporting the meat to be roasted should be fixed on the ground facing east to west and not north to south. The latter type is applied on the occasion of some offerings given after the third day of a deceased person (āsrokh). Nothing can be more appalling than to see the proverbial animosity of some of the Baluch tribes against each other which is even manifested at the time of roasting meat. The sliced pieces of meat on the bar is fixed on the ground, in a position, that mark of cuts caused by the knife, face towards the enemy tribe, with the assumption of cutting the enemy in a similar way. The custom of shaving the hair of the head is regarded as the most exalted of all hieromancies offered to a deceased saint. The hair are shaved and finally taken to the saint's tomb where they are hanged on an adjacent tree or some pole fixed on the shrine. Consequently, some of the shrines with its souvenir of hair, can fairly tempt a layman to start with a blossoming handicraft industry of human hair rug.

The custom of hair-offerings by the Baluchis can be fairly traced back to their ancient progenitors, the Semites. Among the Semites, the custom of hair-offering was common, not only in mourning but in the worship of the gods. The hair of Achilles was dedicated to the river-god Spercheus, in whose honour it was to be shorn on his safe return from Troy. The hair, in fact, was regarded by the ancient people as a living and indispensible part of the body, and as such was the object of many taboos and superstitions[1]. Among the Hebrews the custom was not to shave the whole head but only the front of it[2]. In the Hebrew case it is not said that the hair was laid on the tomb, but in Arabia proper this custom was prevalent in the times of heathenism, and even today, it is done by the Bedouin tribes. The notable feature is that after shaving the head, the mourner wrapped it in the Sicab, a cloth coloured with blood. It seems that a custom of cutting off the hair of the dead was implied, when we read that the Bekrites before the reckless battle of Cidda shaved their heads, as devoting themselves to death[3], and also as recorded in another source[4], where a man dreams that his head is shaven and accepts this as an omen of atrocity or death. In ancient Arabia Mr. Wilken remarks that the hair was cut away from the corpse, or from the dying man, to promote the escape of the soul from the body. The hair of the dead was used as a means of divination, as is prevalent among many peoples[5]. The possession of hair from a man's head or of a shaving from his nails is in remote magic, a formidable way of retaining a hold over him. That was why the ancient Arabs before releasing a slave used to cut off his hair and put it in his quiver[6].

In the primitive Arabia, hair was clipped for rivers as a puberty rite[7]. It was cut for Osris and other gods[8]. The general principle was that man's hair contain his power, vitality and energy. Hence the offering of ones hair is a very real one, in no

1. See Frazer, Golden Bough, III. 258 Sqq.: Wilken. cit., p. 78.
2. See Jer. XVI 6; Amos VIII. 10; Ezek XVII 18.
3. Ham. 253, I.17.
4. Ibn Hishām, p. 254.
5. Wilken, Haaropfer, Anh. II.
6. Rasmussen, Addit., p. 70 sq.
7. A. B. Cook, Zeus, 1.23 sq.
8. Chuuwolson, II, 307 sq.

way less than that demanded at the Adonis feast of Byblus, where girls were required to sacrifice either their hair or their chastity[1]. On the other hand priests left their hair unrestricted because the god dwells in it (Fot. III, 189). Among Lucian's and Syrians the hair of boys and girls were allowed to grow unclipped as a sanctified thing from birth to adolescence, and were shorn and dedicated at the sanctuary as necessary step to marriage. In modern Syria (Sidon district) a child's hair must not be cut till it is an year old[2]. Many of the above kinds of hair-offerings is still a common phenomenon among the Baluchis, who have, heretofore, kept the sacred traditions of the days of yore though thousands of mile away from their original homelands i.e. Syria and Babylon. Every male or female child must have hair on his head which are dedicated to the shrines of family saints and which they shorn at the shrine of the saint after the avowed time. In other words, the hair-offering of youths and maidens is not a mere domestic celebration, but it has become a patent ceremony of social initiation, through which every one has to pass before he is admitted to the status of social maturity. This ceremony—the cutting off the hair as an offering—is merely designed to avert evil from the child, and is evidently an act of dedication by which the infant is brought under the protection of the saint of the community. For the future felicity of a male babe, the ambitious parents had to solemnize certain strange customs. They would tie the knuckles of a wolf round the babe's neck, taking it to be a happy foretoken that their son will be a glob-trotter, not in quest for fame but for booty. And often would tie the newly born babe's umbilical chord round the ear of his horse, omening him to be a swift rider and a swift leader of forays and feuds.

The Baluchis are excessively fond of progidious genealogies and often trace their lineage back to twenty or thirty generations. Genealogy has been and is their passion. No Asiatic race, save the Arabs, has ever raised genealogy to the standard of authentic history more than the Baluchis who have safely preserved up to the present day all the superstition of their great ancestors—the Arabs. The custom of the pagan Arabs of keeping a razor, sword or stelleto[3] under the pilow of a new born male child is still being ardently practised by the Baluchis.

They are very poor tradesmen. To a Baluch of ordinary means, the selling of fruits specially melons, eggs, milk and its by-products, the profession of a cobbler and blacksmith, are the livelihoods which God reserved from eternity for the men of low extraction.

Certain rules of honour prevailing among the Baluch nation handed down by the proud Rinds, are stated below, and are incumbent upon all individuals, in all spheres of life. The test for veracity of prestige and honour of a certain tribe is known by the degree of obeying these rules. Such obligatory rules were not uncommon with all peoples of the medieval ages whilst in a state of flux and change, war and migration.

Here are the conventional decorum:

(1) To avenge blood is the foremost of all duties. Blood according to the primitive law of the land, calls for blood. Sometimes the murder may be commuted

1. Dea Syria, VI.
2. It is a custom strictly followed by the Baluchis, hereunto.
3. Adab-ul-Mufarid Bābul Tair Minal-jin, p. 80.

by the usual rate of compensation differing among each tribe which is similar to that of the bloodwite (diyah) accepted by the Arabs. If the murderer escapes, a vendetta is established, and any fellow clan-member may have to pay for it with his own life. The murder of one man led to interminable blood feuds, lasting for generations. Tribes after tribes were routed, yet this bloody carnage seemed never endless. The defeated side urged it to be their sacred duty to avenge it, without which life was intolerable, and ceased to have any political or social status among other tribes. Even now no Baluch is so detested as the coward and sluggish who recoiled from avenging the family blood, even on a remote relative of the first culprit. In these wars, women played the major part in kindling the embers of fight. They accompanied their men to the battlefield. The men fought with super-human tenacity, thinking, if they lose, their women will be dishonoured by the victorious foe. And in case of flight, they were abhorred by their wives who refused to share in their nuptial bed. The fighter in the midst of hot fight, always endeavoured to protect his back side from any wound, fearing perhaps, people may rebuke that he was wounded or killed while in flight, as manifested by his wounded back.

Such was the intensity of vengeance, that if all the elder male members of a family were killed in a battle then the females of the deceased family taught by heart their children, the name of murderers, to avenge them, when ever able to do so. Among the illiterates a written record of the murderer's men were kept which was handed down generation to generation for the sake of vengeance.

Many savage types of revenge which even trembled the souls of the dead are recorded in ancient Baluchi ballads which ensued from the irascibility of the adverse tribes. Bijār, one of the nobles of Chākarian age, was killed by the member of a Buledi tribe; his ribs were roasted and thrown outside to feed carrion kites. Consequently, the murdered man's relations caught Haibat Khān, the Buledi chief, dragged him on a high precipice and was precipitated and to comply with the savage custom of the race, his head was cut off and skull fashioned into a cup, served the victor as a drinking cup which remained for a considerable time among Bijār's family[1]. Various other instances are not wanting where the blood of the avenged was sucked by the avenger, his liver and heart were roasted and sent to the former's family. Hasan Maulanagh, the cousin of the celebrated Bibark—the great ancestor of the Gishkauris[2], was murdered by the men of the Lāshāri tribe. Hārin, his

1. The same practice was common among other ancient races. According to Strabo, Pliny, and Ammianus, the wild Scythian tribes also exhibited such brute scenes of venegeance. (Muratori, Scrip. Rer. Itabi. tom. 1.424). In the "days of ignorance", we see amongst the Arabs instances displaying the same brutish spirit. A certain man of the Ghassanid tribe cut off the ears of his enemy and used it as patches set upon the shoes. Lubaid, the famous contemporary poet versed this event:

مخصف بالا ذان منکم نعالنا ـ و نشرب کرها منکم فی الحجاج

"Ears should be used as shoes and the skull as the wine cup".

2. "Popular poetry of the Baloches", by Dames, pp. 48, 53.

brother, avenged his death with his sword in the wanton carnage of one hundred men of the enemy tribe, thus computing ten men for his brother's steed, ten for his dromedary, ten for his sword, ten for his shield, ten for his hand's fingers, and fifty others in general. After taking such a heavy toll of life, he further states that the blood of his brother still reflects before his eyes, and his vengeful ire led him to express his venom without compunction in the following words, which became, hereunto, a venerable Baluch adage. "I cannot slaughter the whole world, and peace in no way can be restored even my enemies fly to Muscat (beyond the sea)". Such feats of barbarity among the Baluchis are not an exception, it had been their patent monopoly, since ages. The literary geographer al-Muqaddasi who embodied in 985-6 A.D. an account of his twenty years of travel in an excellent work[1], describes in a delightful manner the savagery of Baluchis. The Arab geographer chronicles, that, "the Baluchis are a race without good habits, having savage faces, black dreadful and granitic heart; they are neither contented with the capture of any person nor in his property until they take his life by killing him with stones, in a manner as snakes are usually killed. They catch hold of people and would turn the man arsie-versie and then crush his head with stones". The author further anecdotes an incident which he personally witnessed. He met with a Baluchi, who was thus killing a man by inches and when he was questioned as to why he was torturingly taking the life of the man, he replied, that he needs not to vex his sword when he can do without it.

(1) To defend to the last property entrusted to him.

(2) To fight to the death for a person who had taken refuge (Bāot) with him. An Adulterer was refused any sort of protection. The famous internecine fight between the two tribes of Bulfat and Kalmati since four centuries fully manifests the extreme degree of observance of this convention.

(3) To be hospitable and to provide protection to the person and property of a guest.

(4) To refrain from killing a woman, a minor boy unaccustomed to wear trouser, a Hindu and a menial, in any of the contests where human lives are lost. (Hindus are considered as hamsāyās[2]).

(5) To pardon an offence on the interposition of a woman belonging to the offender's family (mer).

(6) To cease fighting on the intervention of a Syed or a Mulla, bearing with him the Holy Qurān.

1. "Ahsan-al-Taqāsim-fi-Ma'rifat-al-Aqālim", (the best classification for the knowledge of climates).

2. Hinduism in the tribal area is stretched almost to the breaking point. As for sect, the old Hindu families care less than nothing. They know no sacred books and their priests are as ignorant as their followers. These benighted Hindus have extenuated their rights and ceremonies to the mercy and predominence of the Muslim custom. They resort proudly to Muslim shrines and places of sanctity; and implore Muslim saints and are well off to seek aid from charm-mongering Mullas. It is not uncommon to find majority of them keeping fasts and participating in Muslim festivals. They freely use Muslim utensils for drinking water, etc.

(7) To punish the adulterer and the adulteress with death[1]. Many cases have been noticed whence on mere suspicion, both the men and the women were killed in cold blood. No race in the world is so jealous of female honour as are the Baluchis. The sum total of their life is to keep an eagle eye upon woman's honour. If one has simply conversed with another's woman, a little far off from her home, then the fatal doom has riped their heads, to be chopped off. This convention is one of the most dangerous resulting into fatal consequences as there is no sharp demarcation in order to test the innocence or guilt of the parties entangled.

(8) To refrain from killing a man who had entered the shrine of a saint (Pir) so long he remained within its precincts.

Ceremonies and usage of marriage

In accordance with Neolithic man's dependence on soil and weather, all the major events of Baluch social life are regulated by the the seasons. All marriages take place in the spring or autumn after harvest, and at no other time. The marriage contract as is the case today was sealed according to Islamic law. The father and the mother were the guardians and representatives on the part of the girl to betroth her in marriage. The traditional system of Baluch marriages yet remains unchanged. Persons, both male and female, were often betrothed in infancy. The dower used to be very little. The worth and rank of the contracting parties were enough guarantee to both the sexes. Bride-price, in the sense it is prevalent among the Afghans, was not known among the Baluchis. The dower (Mehr) which was admittable, usually amounted between seven to forty rupees. The girl was betrothed

1. In pre-British days, if both the adulteress and the adulterer were killed, matter ended there. Even today the murder of the adulteress and her seducer is not deemed as culpable crime by the people of the land and the murderer of both parties do not think that he had committed a crime at all. (See 'Administrative report of the Baluchistan agency, for 1890-91, pp. 95-96). The ignominious remark of the famous geographer, Dudley Stamp, about the people of Baluchistan discomposeth the mind's serenity of every honourable man. "The people of Baluchistan", he writes, "are mainly Muhammadans. There are more men than women and so it sometimes happens that a woman has more than one husband". ("The Indian Empire", Part IV, India, Burma and Ceylon, p. 148). The above statement is a brazen calumny of the blackest dye. Nothing can be more far from truth than the learned author's sweeping statement, so un-Islamic and so unsound. Laxity of sex morality has rarely found its way into the Baluch society. The geographer's mind while writing these lines, travelled from the little known corner of Baluchistan to European countries round him and where civilisation (in the European sense of the term) has not yet touched Baluchistan. Thanks be to God, and to the rigid rules of Baluch morality that Baluchistan is not so civilized, as to tolerate a woman to two, or three husbands. Adultery is admittedly no offence in European countries, rather it is viewed with a spirit of toleration. The statistical data of the sex proportion in Baluchistan according to the census report, presents 824 females to 1,000 males. It is well admitted that all over the world more males are born than females. The oversensitiveness of the Baluchis with regard to female-folk, urged Mr. Bray to remark at the time of Census operation that "... To have bade our enumerators to go forth and record the women of such tribes individual by individual on the inquisitive lines of the ordinary census, would have been like asking them to take lighted torches into cellars of gunpowder". The same officer further states that idea of puberty in case of females agitated even the mind of the most sober and meek tribesman and the age of the females was enquired by enigmatic periphrases to overcome the bashfulness of the people concerned. Thus to a Baluch with regard to his woman the question was generally asked like this. 'Is she inmate or not? While to the Brahui, 'Does she know needle work?' And to the Pathan. 'Has she begun to say her prayers?'.

The people of Baluchistan expect that the learned author will admit his mistake and the admission thereof will be sufficient apology on behalf of the man whose pen miserably slipped away from reality to falsity and from reason to perversion.

by the parents and she had absolutely no choice to assent or dissent. It is regarded, hereunto, an insult to take the assent of the girl before her betrothal. Before marriage she remained as a chattel of the father who could give her hand to any person he liked. They were strictly endogamous; marriage with near relations was always the rule because exchanges were easily arranged and this custom is passionately followed up, hitherto. The family relation, prestige and lineage were deemed most sacred. In the want of a bachelor in the family, the girls of the same family were not given in marriage outside, and instances are not wanting, whence the girl grew old and died virgin within the four walls of her house. Usually, a bachelor had nothing to say in the selection of his bride, the parents looked for a suitable girl and the first step taken was to send a man (Vakil) to the parents of the girl to sound them, if they consented, the father of the bridegroom with some of his relatives or elders (Mer) approached the girl's father and made a request for the hand of the girl, on the acceptance of which prayers ('Duā') were offered and sweets were distributed. The 'duā' rendered the betrothal (Sāng) binding. After a few days, the bridegroom presented to the bride a wrapper (Sari) and a ring (Mundri).

Polygamy is common among the well-to-do, either for pleasure or sometimes for the sake of offspring. Cohabitation with concubines (Suret) was permitted by custom, but the issues did not inherit.

Divorce though allowed in Islam was deemed as the greatest curse of God on earth. Even today among the Baluchis, divorce is a word not found in their social code. A man of rank considered himself utterly disgraced in taking a step which exposed his wife, to the public life and view. Their personal honour interdicted that they should give the hand of one, who had placed her head on his pillow into the hand of another. Their eyes were ever imminent upon womanly honours. No body even today is ready to bear the scandal attending such a proceeding. Among the Brahuis divorce is not uncommon, but the divorces are never on account of adultery, as that crime, if proved, is subject to capital punishment, namely, death. Marriages among the Baluchis as in all Asiatic countries, used to be very expensive. The marriage expenses varied according to the status of the contracting parties, the greatest amount fell on the bridegroom's family. It was and is usual for a man to spent his life earnings, on his nuptial day. All the men of name and fame endeavoured to surpass their equals with a terrific spirit of rivalry, as such in the desire to rival others, they ruined themselves. When once the girl was betrothed, the contract never terminated. The guests to a marriage party were entertained by some manly exhibitions as wrestling, spear-play, horse racing and music. Like present, at the time of betrothal, ring was sent, and presents were interchanged between the contracting members. The day before the marriage, the parties observed the usage of staining the hands with henna. The bridegroom appeared on his wedding day, dressed in brocades and the very day he received from his friends and relatives most devoted respect, as if, he was the monarch of the hour. Similarly the bride in her house posed as a princess. The bride was bathed, perfumed, powdered and dressed in the richest. When these ceremonies were over, she was covered with a scarlet veil, mounted upon dromedary and was conveyed to her husband's house. At these marriages, both the males and females of the concerned

tribe used to stand in a ring and display dance (Jhumar) accompanied with the beating of the drum (Duhl).

The position of woman would be as is the case today, of extreme abasement, and both before and after marriage they passed a life of incessant drudgery and toil. The system of baal marriage[1] of ancient Arabia, i.e. that in which the husband is "lord" over the wife, was strictly followed by the Baluchis and the union was of permanent nature which she could not dissolve at will. As a daughter or as a wife she could not claim any rights in property, and as a widow she was entitled to a bare subsistance allowance from her late husband's estate. The above customs are followed passionately by Baluchis of all shades.

1. See 'Kinship and marriage in Early Arabia', by W. Robertson Smith (Revised addition 1907).

CHAPTER VII

INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE BALUCH RACE

Cultural conception of life

In the domain of literature, the Baluch race is as dry and cheerless as the country itself. Baluchistan and the Baluch race represent one of the darkest chapter in the intellectual history of humanity. They have made very little progress in this direction than the other nation of Asia placed in similar circumstances of climatic and geographical position. We seldom meet in Baluch history anything worthy of mention with regard to a distinguished man of pen. They inherit no literature, no laws, no art to which their name has been attached. Their literature, if at all any, speaks of the literature of sword, brigandine, helmet, shield and the arrow. They ever expressed through sword instead of pen and preferred crimson blood more than black ink. Wherever they went, we have the same traces of blood, anarchy and feud, the same wilderness left behind, which were patent to the marches of the ancient Huns or the fire-bands of the universe—the Mongols of the medieval times. According to their general conception, the search for the inexhaustible fountain of literature and the rosary of literary wisdom was the occupation of the most idle man. Moreover, the entire Baluch race was hostile to any change, whether of heart or mind. A Baluch of the present age would even love and like to live in past lores. He is a true *laudator temporis acti.* Whatever be the precepts of the men of letters about learning, to a Baluch it is nothing, but mere a squib of tongue and the curse of Meroz.

The Persian ideal of life is:

'When we are dead, seek for our resting place
not in the earth, but in the hearts of men[1]'

and that of the Arabs proceeds:—

'These are our works which prove what we have done;
look therefore at works when we are gone'.

That of Turks:

'His genius cast its
Shadow o'er the world,
and in brief time he much
achieved and wrought:
The age's sun was he, and
Age in suns
Cast lengthy shadows, though
Their time be short'.

While that of Baluchis—

"Seek not our talents in books but from the hearts
of those whom we have ravished by our marauding
propensities, 'and would often say,' Learning
thy talent is, but mine is robbery".

۱. بعد از وفات تربت مادر زمین مجو
در سینه هائے مردم عارف مزار ماست

(Rumi).

Rarely any book from the works of great authors of humanity have been translated into Baluchi up to the present age, yet what is known about it is out of all proportions to what is unknown. To speak of fine arts and architecture, it will be a pleasant surprise to the civilized man that since the days of yore till now, no vivid change occurred in the residential life of the race. They live in black sheep tents pitched at a distant from places where the modern civilisation has gleamed forth its splendour. Their nomadic colony near Quetta—the metropolis of Baluchistan, represents a surprising contrast to the people of the town, living under the same government. It seems, as if, the barbarian Huns of yore had been imported to the Niboe of nations—the modern Rome. They had no arts that deserve the name. In the domain of medicine, strange remedies peculiar to primitives are practised even by twentieth century Baluch. Among the various remedies for all kinds of fever and desperate diseases, the most congenial or desperate remedy is the process of wrapping the patient in the skin of a newly killed sheep or goat as the case may be. For all internal and external pains, the most effective remedy is branding the effected organ. Branding serves the purpose of the magic drug—penicilline. All the diseases of mind and heart are usually attributed to the evil influence of bad spirits. The only efficacious cure rather the patent anodyne to remedy the pain, is to arrange a 'Jhala' which is similar to the Egyptian 'Zar'—a practice similar to the drum-beating in central Africa, to drive away evil spirits. The patient dances or is supposed to dance to the sound of the drums, in an ecstatic mood. At the same time, a Sheikh murmurs unintelligible words, either begging or compelling the spirit to leave the patient.

One is bound to be at some pains to investigate the reason of the strange phenomenon presented by the inefficacy of the race towards literary pursuits. The reasons, however, are not far to seek. Nomadism is a no bar to intellectualism. The Arabs who are the nomadic of all the people of the world, produced men who outclassed all other nations in all the branches of science and art. It can be genuinely asserted besides other causes that the Baluch race or their country never came into close contact for a long period with any civilized alien dynasty that entered Baluchistan as conquerors The occupation of the country in a broader sense had ever been a military domination of strategic character. Baluchistan, as we see, was used as a springboard by its conquerors to push their conquests towards the fertile plains of India. The Greeks to whom the origin of all positive sciences and philosophy as well as all literature and arts are assigned, conquered the land (Makurān and Las Bela) but their conquering hordes passed away with almost the same force as they had entered the country. The country remained for a time, under the Greek Generals after the breaking of the Alexanderian Empire, yet it was more of a territorial claim than of a permanent subjugation. Thus, the intellectual legacy of the Greeks, in no way influenced the land. The lords of the land of the Bactrian sage held sway over the greater part of Makurān. The Persian masters of pen added exquisite pearls to the boundless field of learning. Shirāz and Nishāpur shed their splendent light of knowledge all over the neighbouring territories where once 'the Lion and the Sun' ruled with its might and light; but Makurān seldom received the impulse and the native mind least accepted what was worthy of note. Perhaps, it had its own cause of deflection. The highways of fortune leading to the benefits of pen, it seems, had been marred by ince-

ssant high-pressure vicissitudes of the Baluch political life. The Arabs ruled Makurān but they never gave anything worthy of the Arabian mind. Broadly speaking the Arab conquest of Makurān was an age of turmoil, the conquerors were always on the alert to safeguard their integrity. It was an age of sword and not of pen.

The true Baluchis, pity to mention, created or improved no art of their own. Their nomadic trait found expression through one mediocrity—'Poetry', for it was the choicest way of literary expression. Horsemanship, sword and poetry were the basic attributes of the Rinds of Chākar's time. The poet always used to put hard facts into liquid poetry, following the Arab pattern as is depicted by one of the famous verses of Zuhair: "Of all the verses which thou hast made, the fairest in praise is that whereof, when they hear, men say—'Yea, that is the Truth".

Naturally the cultural movement or the literary age of a race begins when the use of sword ceases and is replaced by the canopy of peace and prosperity. Mind flourishes when aggression and injustice terminate. The soothing environments, a well established prosperous society, the picturesque landscapes are few of the many causes which console the literary minds and make their intellectual triumph complete. It is not the battle-field, the clash of arms, or the termagant society that breeds the nourishment of intellectual pursuits.

The Khānate of Kalāt was more of a Brahui military confederacy than of a settled, peaceful, administrative rule where safety of head was more needed than safety of pen and paper. Khān 'Abdullah Khān, we are informed, was an excellent bard and composed lucid verses in pure Baluchi. In one of the verses he shows his intense sentimentalism towards his beloved: "I wish to keep my beloved in my eyes, but fear (to do so) lest my eyelashes may seize him from me beforehand." (Tr.).

The planet-like music of poetry and other arts had no effect upon the wild passion of the majority of the Brahui rulers who were the beau-ideal of eastern terrorism and their courts the focus of intrigues. As such the rulers, thereof, never cared for any art or literature nor patronised the prominent poets or men of pen who ever chanced to visit their courts. The nobility and the yeomanry well accorded to the outlook of their masters in repressing religico-philosophico chirographical movements. A well composed verse of Majad-ud-Dīn Hamgar regarding the then Baluchis best depicts the general Baluch outlook:

با برگ و چار پائے چنین هر که بیندم - گوید وزیر نیست لگور است یا بلوچ

It was recently in the time of Khudādād Khān's rule that Kalāt, the capital, rose to eminence as a commercial and intellectual centre in the whole of Khānate. It acted as a lode-star for ingenious arts in the neighbouring territories. Eloquence, poetry and arts, Khudādād Khān, unlike so many of his race, loved very much. Poetship was respected and honoured. After his deposition, the city of Kalāt was reduced to the rank of a paltry town and it struck a fatal blow at the semblance of unity subsisting among the Baluchistanis. Henceforward, Urdu became the vehicle of culture.

1. Lagor is nomadic tribe in Persia—a mixture of Baluch and Turkoman blood.

Khudādād Khān's princely munificence gave an impetus to learning and became the source of inspiration. Literature and scholarship attained a considerable value under his patronage. During his regime Persian prose had borne the impress of its extravagant elegence and colourful imagery upon the Baluch masters of prose and poetry.

Poetic concept of Baluchis

Dealing with the brief glossary of the few literary gems that flourished in 19th century Baluchistan, we have some written accounts of them and beyond this period everything is preserved in traditions. The Baluch poetry has its own special merits. From Baluch poems of the Chākarian time, we see a true mirror of the age. Master passion of that age was revenge; it was a society in which men respected strength, valour and fidelity. The distinction of right and wrong was cleared either by the dint of arms or by the vitriolic tongue of the poets. It is impossible to fix with any degree of certainty the date when the Baluchis first began to practise the art of poetry. The oldest poems, of which we have fragments descended to us by 'rāwis' belong to the time of the Baluch migration from Persian Baluchistān and Makurān towards central Kalāt plateau and the Indus plains.

The primitive tribal system always existed, and each tribe patronised its own poets, in order to compose satires on the adversary tribes while composing panegyries upon their own heroes. There is no written literature, the memories of the people abound with ballads setting forth the adventures of their national heroes, and the poetic fire is not extinct even today, for the frequent additions are being made to the stock. The Baluch poetry is the public register (daftar) of the Baluch people. It is only their historical character which gives it a unique value than its high poetic interest.

The collective body of literary production embracing the entire knowledge and fancy are safely preserved in these (daftars). The Baluchi poems are both epic and narrative, but seldom dramatic. The poet in ecstatic mood emerges himself in his hero, and paints a series of true pictures about his sword, his mare, his fights, his wanderings, likes and dislikes. The poet seldom casts his poetic colouring in narrating the events with the least embroidery, caprice or humour. Whenever an issue political or social arose between the parties, then each sought to find the decision through the expression of poets. In Baluchi love-poems or lyrics, the city atmosphere is mollified by a breeze from the mountain. Though the beloved may be from a city, yet the lover's verses deifies his beloved through images drawn from the urban side. The woman who inspires the poet is not the maiden of the palaces perfumed with scent and cosmetic, but it is the maiden of the hut, with bangles and nose rings, drawing water from the mountain springs or distant wells. The chief merit of Baluch poetry with its rustic muse remained till the time of Chākar and when this art vanished into clean flattery, the free spirit of the poets which never praised unduly any body but the deserved ones, was lost for ever and gave place to panegerists and satirical epigrams for lust of praise and money which are the universal passions of human mind. The medieval Baluch poets composed Dīwāns in their own language, but in later times the introduction of Persian, as the court language in the court of Khāns of Kalāt, attracted men to read and write Persian, and soon, Persian poetry began to flourish copiously under the last two independent Khāns—Naseer II and Khudādād Khān. The emergence of a definite poetic scheme in Kalāt as early as the 19th century marks

a definite contribution of Persian influences, but the poetic seed sown by the few did not come into full fruition before it was humbled down. After the advent of the British, Persian language suffered greatly and gradually declined in importance and was decisively replaced by Urdu. Some of the famous poets dealt in these pages belong to the 19th century, who mainly composed their Dīwāns in Persian. The Baluch poets who mainly composed Dīwāns in Baluchi will be a part of another work of similar kind. A mere list of such poets would claim a volume. Few of the British political officers have published Baluchi poems; but their works do not claim any substantial research either upon the life of the poets or of the age they flourished.

In 1840, Lt. Leech published few of the Baluchi poems in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1875 Mr. Dames published a book, 'Popular poetry of the Baluchis' which deals with the poems of Chākar's time, etc. In 1881, again poems dealing with the geneology of the race were translated into English and published in J.R.A.S.B. Mr. Temple in his book "Legends of Punjab" under the heading 'Adventures of Mir Chakar' deals with many poems of the then age.

However, in true Baluchi poetry, we find more facts and truth than clean flattery and loose praises. The race brave in heart, has ever been brave in their poetic expression too. Perhaps, no poet of any nationality in the world, has so far satirized acrimoniously a ruling prince before his royal audience as did a Baluch poet before Naseer Khān I. A party of Baluchis were forced to abandon Sind by the orders of the then Tālpur Meer, wherefore, they migrated to the court of Naseer Khān as refugees. The Tālpur ruler after sending royal gifts to the Khān, insisted on the latter to banish away the refugees from his court and the request was accomplished accordingly. The refugees left Kalāt and migrated towards Derājāt territory where they were welcomed by the Drīshak chief, Hiyāt Khān, who favoured them with great favours. One of them composed a long satire in Baluchi and came to the Brahui capital. Naseer Khān one day held his royal audience attended by his Vakil or Shāh-Ghāssi. The Baluch poet read the poem, starting with the praise of the Umerās of Chākar's time, followed with the praise of the few late Ahmadzai rulers of Kalāt, and, finally, the carping satire with all the shafts of ridicule streamed towards the person of Naseer 'the great', the Brahui traditions and language. Here is the translation of few of the Fescennine verses which relate to Naseer Khān:—

> "After the expiry of Khān 'Abdullah Khān
> Honour has departed from Khorāssān (Kalāt Plateau)
> And migrated towards the Eastern side of the country—The place of Meer Hiyāt Khān—the golden pot of the Rinds.
> Khān are those who are Khān since ages.
> What a Khān is this? But an unripe grain (as unripe grain cannot be ground into flour, therefore useless)
> Ameer are those who are eternal Ameers.
> What an Ameer is this who is but like a bullet", (which if aimed
> either on a friend or on an enemy would alike harm the both.)

"Look the dog is barking", the Vakil said to Naseer after hearing the

satire. "The dog is barking", rejoined the Khān "because it has seen some awkward things."

The patent domain of the Baluchi poetry covers the following fields—Qasīdah, epics, satires, lyrics, and monodies. Often, we find a strong strain of plain mystic thoughts clothed in fine Baluch poetry. Among female folk monodical poetry was a common theme and their range of thought was only limited due to the over-jealous spirit and outlook of the race towards the honour of the fair sex. The recitation of elegies (Mokht) is a common phenomenon among the Baluchis at the time when a person passes away, specially a tribal chief. The women of the concerned family or of the clan, as the case may be, assemble in the house of the dead in mourning garments, and form a circle, whereas, the female members of the dead sit inside and the coterie mourn with one voice, reciting patent funeral songs which depict the various qualities of the extra-ordinary man of the semi-civilised type. The deceased house, spear and sword, his assemblies and gay parties, love episodes, beauty and strength, generosity and valour, wars and exploitations are profusely praised and mourned. Generally the elegy commences with the adventures of Chākar—the beau-ideal of the race, Bībark and sometimes that of Punnu, the Hot chief of medieval Makurān, the venerable lover of Sasuhi, the Sindian princess[1]. In the case of the (Mokht) mourning of a dead woman, her household affairs, strict management, her needle work, beauty, simplicity, her male progeny's worth and value, and, finally, her parents qualities are the common theme.

Baluchi elegy

In the case of a bachelor or a virgin, the elegies are quite different. This custom of mourning commonly extends for three days within the family of the dead. The Arab custom of mourning is followed copiously. Here is a typical elegiac poem commonly cited at the demise of a tribal chief or a nobleman. Following is its literal translation:—

"An uproar has risen and the earth trembled,
the sky turned into a wild blaze
and poured firy drops of rain,
Wherefore burnt the high flying fork-tailed kites,
the mountains trembled, on the death knell of the chief.
The four directions of the universe exchanged places.
Sind took the place of Herāt and vice versa,
the disturbed water of the seven rivers turned
the oceans to foaming fury,
the trees ran confusedly, the rocks deranged,
Royal palaces tumbled down,
And the four walls of the Sibi fort fell in ruin.
'O' Ye, ministrals! sing and revive
the gruff songs of Ameer Chākar's death.
Our chief was river Indus in generosity,
In patience and wisdom smoothed the ruffled seas.

1. For details see "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām".

He ate nothing but roasted meat,
And washed the hands of his guests with 'ghee' (butter),
the doubled edged knives proved blunt in killing the many sheep (in the way of sacrifice).
Never fair (chief's) hands were without the
thundering musket, and never his feet off
the stirrups of the lightning charger.
His chase were either the eagles of the sky,
or the distant Mouflons of the mountains,
or the heart of the foes.
Heavily armed with habliments of war the chief would be,
in as much the hands of the slaves got rusted
While unarming the chief.
Alas! if, ye (chief), had died in a tribal fight,
Thine enemies would have trembled before thine sword,
and its glitter would have soothed the hearts
of thine friends, and blinded the dusty eyes of
the foes, while thine arrow had fished into the
blood of the enemies.
And thine spear dyed red by the defiled blood of
the bitterest foes . . ."

Ghulām Muhammad

We now deal with the life of some of the Baluch poets who composed their Dīwāns in Persian. The first and the most celebrated Baluch poet is Mirza Ghulām Muhammad Makurāni, who flourished in the 19th century and was a contemporary of Mirza Asad Ullah Khān, Ghālib. Ghulām Muhammad was born in Makurān[1] but nothing is known about his birth date and birth place. He passed his early days at Makurān in complete obscurity, and throughout his stay in his native land he battled against want and poverty. Fated to be a poet, was fated, too, to live on thoughts. Intellectual development in those days, as is common even now in the Asian countries, was a bar to material welfare. He deplores and depraves in one of his poems, the condition of his country men in similar manner as did Hāfiz, the great poet of Shīrāz:

نه کتابے به بغل شان نه قلم در کف شان
در بغل هیزم و در دست تبری بینم
همه آفاق بنوشند گلاب و قند است
مکریان را همه از خون جگری بینم

From his land of birth, he moved on to Sind and placed his fortune under the patronage of Meer Sobdār Khān Tālpur, who would address the poet with the eponym of 'Dilkhush'. His fortune boomed for a time but the tame life and tame scenery of Sind seemed to have least tamed his ambitious spirit, restless for glory

1. Most probably he belonged to Persian Baluchistan which was also called Makurān.

and glamour. While at Sind, he lampooned in one of his verses, the town and people of Matāri (a town near Hyderābād):

آبرو گر طلبی آب مٹاری مطلب
لقمه چرب بجز نان جواری مطلب

"If thou seeketh honour, do not seek the water of Matāri.
Do not crave for dainty morsel but the bread of Jowāri (Andropogon Sorghum)".

Mortally Jealous of Nātiq who had a vein—a strong vein to excel his contemporaries, the Matārian scholar, Makhdūm 'Abdul Ghafoor, impoverised the following verse in envy of him.

آبرو گرطلبی آب مٹا ری بطلب
لقمه چرب مجو نان جواری بطلب [1]

"If thou seeketh honour, seek the water of Matāri
Seek not dainty morsel but the bread of Jowāri".

Smith with the love of fame and money, his imagination and verve moved, and his heart tempted to leave for India on his private venture with the hope of testing his fortune in the court of the Indian princes, whose liberality towards poets, prodigal expenses and extravagancies were fabled to distant lands. He is often reckoned, authoritatively, as the swan of the Baluch race. The author of 'Sham'i-e-Anjaman' extols him as the greatest poet of Persian language in the contemporary India[2]. His pen-name was Nātiq (ناطق). He tossed to and fro for a time from court to court but finally, found his way in the court of Oudh Princes and succeeded in enlisting himself amid the social ranks of Wajīd 'Alī Shāh. From Lucknow he wrote a letter to Mirza Asad Ullah Ghālib, in which the poet states his misfortunes and mishaps and also the apathy and supineness of the nobility towards poets and men of letters. In the end of his letter he criticises one of the verses of Mirza Ghālib and requests the latter to throw light upon it, whether it has been misprinted, or used through poetic licence.

رقعه — به اسد الله خان غالب دهلوی عرف مرزا نوشه

ای آنکه بری نامهٔ من رو بقفا کن
صد قافلهٔ رشک ببین بر اثر خود

چون شرح اشتیاق ملاقات آنجناب کرامت انتساب نه بمثابه ایست که در حیز تحریر گنجائی پذیرد نا گزیر بگذارش برخی از سوانح سیاحت این صوب سمع خراش میگردد کما بیش ده سال میگزرد که زمین گیر این دیار می باشم اما طرفگیها ئیکه از وضع این دیار یان دیده ام هیچ کافر نبیناد از خواص و عام این مخلوق کمتر کسی بوده باشد که نسبت تعارف اسمی یا جسمی بامن دوست نکرده باشد بلکه از بدایت و رود تا حال بزعم ذوها از جرگ اساتذه مسلم‌الثبوتم

1. Mss. Takmalāi Maqālāt ul-Sh'urā by Ibrāhīm Khaleel al-Tattawi.

2. 'Sham'i-e-Anjaman' by Syed Muhammad Sadiq Hassan, p. 467.

نهاده اند کج مجے که گاه گاه نو کریز قلم نا مربوط رقم میگردد بصدا برام از من ربوده بدستانهامی سرایند و نیز هیچ نوائے و نائیے در این سرکار بر سرکار نیامده ۔ که سلسله جنبانی ناخن بندی و سپاس و ستایشم بفضل و کمالی که ندارم بحضور وقت خود نکرده باشد و لیکن با این همه آشی که در دهلی بکاسه داشتم دارم چند ماه پیش از این منشی الملوک بمشا ارکان دولت ابد مدت عرضداشتی متضمن تقرر مشاهرهٔ من از نظر اقدس ظل الهی گذرانیده در عرض تربیتم زبان جسارت بمبالغه تمام مطلق نموده بودند و هم و اقفان حاشیهٔ بساط فیض مناط دران فصل منجر بالخیر همگنان مر ویرا بوجه وجیهه موافقت و معاونت نمودند حضرت بعد اصغائے معروضات تحریری و تقریری برای تجویز و اجرائے راتبه ام ناصیه عرضداشت را بنام سعیدالدوله خطابے که در آن تاریخ بواسطه مطائبهٔ نا گفتنی بلند پایگی یافته همگی رتق و فتق و طبط و ربط مهمات ملکی و مالی بپائے خود گرفته بود و کوس انا و لا غیری میکوفت بحکم ناطق تزیئن و توشیح فرمودند آن خدا گیر با وصف سوابق مواجهت و سوالف موانست بتحریک خباثت جبلی طریق تغافل در نور دید تا رسید بجائے که رسید آرے۔

بس تجربه کردیم در این دیر مکافات

با درد کشان در افتاد بر افتاد

و باز در این روزها پیش نهاد خاطر اراکین دولت آنست که عرضداشتے دیگر متضمن مضمون سابق از پیشگاه نگاه اقدس و اعلیٰ گذرانیده آید و مصلحت دید من اینکه دیدهٔ خام طمعی بیک بارگی از این باغهائے سبز بر بسته در پایان خزان بشهپر توفیق از این آشوب کده پرواز گرفته در آن گل زمین بهار آگین نفسی راست نمایم و چندی دیده و دل را بدیدار و گفتار آن دوست نور و سرور افزوده ۔

بشهر خود روم و شهر یار خود باشم

چه بر گذارم که شوق استسعا و ملازمت آن مجمع محاسن صوری و معنوی چه مایهٔ پیرا مون گرد ارادت منزل است و تغافلی که در این چند سال بنگاشتن نیاز نامه ها بکار برده ام جز این علتے نداشته که در عرض دو سه سال مسودهٔ دیوان بلاغت بتیان خود راکرة بعد اولے و مرة بعد آخری نامزد من فرموده بودند من هم از سادگی دل بقول شما نهاده نقلش برنداشتم عاقبت کار هنگام گسیل چون لب بتقاضائے آن کشو دم به لطائف‌الحیل پیچیده چند عذرے لنگ بر فتار آورده پائے ایفائے وعده در مقام خلف افشردند و دست عطا در آستین مضایقه کشیدند بواهمه آنکه این حریف جهان پیماست چونکه بالکه دیگر تازد چه عجب که غالب را از دیوان بر خیزاند و ناطق رابجایش نشاند ۔ هیهات هیهات — مصرع

من چنان تان چنین دریغ دریغ

حالیا تلافی انتساب بدگمانی که بذات من خیر سگال شده بود منحصر در این است که تا حالت مطالعه نامه اخلاص ختامه آنچه از عالم نظم و نثر فرونشاندهٔ کام و زبان مبارک است بدستیاری چاپار هر همه بر من فرستاده آید تا من آنراهم هیکل جان با نیاز نمایم و هم بر سخن آشنایان این مر زبوم باز نمایم و نیز شخصی که صاحب چهاپه خانهٔ مشهور این شهر است و با ین بلا

گردان پر محشور و مربوط انگشت ترغیب بر پهلویش زده ام اغلب که کلیات را بمجرد رسیدن بطبع رساند تکلف بر طرف از گرد آمدن نتایج طبع مطبوع مخلص پناهی مرا بسرحدی انجامیده که میگویم بار خدایا همینکه غالب کلیات خود بمن فرستد به پیمان موگد ایمان ترک سخن گوید تا دلم شکنجه کش و غذغه این معنی نشود که شاید من بعد سخنی تازه سراید و آن بر من نرسد و در این مثنوی درد و داغ که

خوک شد و پنجه زدن ساز کرد
با سرور و عربده آغاز کرد

کاتب لفظی بصورت پنجه بقلم داده است آیا این چه لفظ است چه اگر فی نفس الامر پنجه دارد یا آنکه نزد شعرا اطلاق سم و پنجه بمحل همدیگر جائز الاستعمال است پس اعلام باید فرمود تا پے بحقیقت آن برده باشم الله تعالےٰ عمر بلند نصیب کناد ـ ناطق

In his fine frenzies, his poetic imagination always rolled from spiritual to material and not from material to spiritual things. Nātiq was a destitute by birth, scholar by taste and poet by profession. His poetic works consist of a Mathnawi and a Dīwān, but the Mathnawi is extinct, and the latter is named 'Jauhar-i-M'uazzam'. It is by his 'Jauhar-i-M'uazzam' that he lives today. He is essentially a Qasīdah writer and it is on this form of verse that his reputation rests, though he has written large number of odes and quatrains. Some couplets of his are definitely mystical, others are equally worldly. Some of his odes are panegyrical, others moral; the rest are jovial or bacchanalian. The chief characteristics of his poetry are conciseness, originality of ideas, novel similies and metaphors. His verses are filled with an army of charming words and thrilling similies. To quench his greed for wealth he mainly composed Qasīdahs in praise of various Princes and governors of Oudh. According to his own verse he completed in Jauhar-i-M'uazzam in 1269 A.H.

زشاخ خشک خامه گل فشانم　　مگر در حمد بارے تر زبانم
ولی دشوار حمد ذوالجلال است　　زبان خامهٔ شنجرف لال است
بیا تا نغمهٔ دیگر سرایم　　بسان نغمه زین پرده برایم
سخن سحری چه سحری با کمال است　　حلال است و حلال است و حلال است
براین ره جوهر خود آزمایم　　زعالی جوهران جوهر نمایم

Many of his Qasīdah, are imaginative or impassioned, and obviously bear the unmistakable traces of the style and imagery of Anwari

کیست غیر از امین دولت و دین
آن و زیرے که شه نشان باشد
آنکه دربار گاه رفعت او
آسمان خشت آستان باشد

.. ..

.. ..

In praise of Qutb-ud-Daulah he composed the following Qasīdah:

تعالی‌الله قطب‌الدوله و قدر معلایش   جبین ها سجده ریز آستان سایش
زبان بازی کند با شمع طور و آتش ایمن   هر آن شمعی که یابد روشنی از پرتورایش
دلے دارد تجلی زار ز انوارش چه میپرسی   فروغ صدید بیضا تماشا کن بسیمائش

. . . .

معرف در حضور دا نست بس باد ناطق را   خمیر نکته پیرایش زبان بذله پا لایش

In amorous delights, he composed lyrics which rival those of Jāmi and Nizāmi in sweetness, simplicity, and in poetic imagination:

با صرفه زیر خون دل ای چشم تر هنوز   نفشر ده است پنجهٔ عشقش جگر هنوز
بلبل ز ذوق کنج نفس دم چه میزنی   کزنالهٔ نسوختهٔ بال و پر هنوز
پا تا بزا نوم همه فرسوده و همان   نعلم در آتش است به شوق سفر هنوز

. . . .

. . . .

صد جام حالیا زدم و العطش زنان   جان میدهم به قیمت جام دگر هنوز
ناطق اگر قدح زنم از خون جبرئیل   دارم بدست رحمت عامش نظر هنوز

It also seems that the poet applied himself to the art of astrology as he asserts in his two couplets:

ناطق چوبلا بدهر بد فال شدی   دو راز وطن و عیال و اطفال شدی
شاعر شدن از بهر فلاکت کم بود   کای خانه خراب باز رمال شدی

He resolved in his later years to live permanently in India wherefore at Lucknow, he framed the following couplet:

صبا از جانب ناطق سلام خاک مکران را   که من چون غنچه دل در گلشن هندوستان بستم

Again he versed:

اے عزیزان وطن دست بشوئید از من   که کشتهٔ هندم سبزان گلابی پوششں

Syed Muhammad Taqi Shāh

The second noted contemporary poet was Syed Muhammad Taqi Shāh ibn-i-Syed Muhammad Shāh bin Shāh Ism'aīl Kandahāri. He began to display the heavenly gift of poetry in the first flower of his youth. In his early days, he caged himself in the respectable quarters of Bela (the capital of Las Bela). His ardent love for learning, which he attained to perfection in the prime of his youth, coupled with his fine poetical compositions attracted the then Jām whose timely patronage, raised the poet to his destined fame and name. On the year of Hijra 1296, 18th day of the month of Safar, he completed the versification of his epic under the title of 'Gulistān-i-Shahādat'. The poet, later on, seems to have committed his fortune unto the favours of the then Mengal chief, Sardar Nūr-ud-Dīn who was massacred in cold blood with seventy one of his companions by Khān Khudadād Khān under the Kalāt Meeree gate. As usual, admiration leads to dedication, he dedicated his work to the Mengal Chief and titled his book after his

martyrdom. He wonderfully depicts in his epic, the heroic deeds of the Mengal chief, his multifarious wars with the Khān, and finally, pathetically, describes the martyrdom of the chief and his men. The way he begins and ends his epic, moves the emotions of the most wicked heart. His fame as a poet rests on his epic work, 'Gulistān-i-Shahādat', which enjoys a wide celebrity in Baluchistan and Sind. His pen-name was Tāib. The book, in the monotony of metres, shares with its most part with the Shāh Nāmeh of Firdausi, and often the similies are unnecessarily monotonous. He is unsurpassed by any poet of Baluchistan in his skill as an epical poet and his character as a man. He lived a simple life, and love for wealth, hardly warmed his breast. He believed that to be simple is to be great. Simplicity of manners and simplicity in wits have been his constant oars by which he sailed his boat in the vast and unknown sea of human life. He not only poetised events but also versified truth. Consequently, practised his art neither for fear nor favour.

He describes the date of martyrdom of his hero in his verses which utter reflections upon the instability of life and its joys too:

جهان کهنه دیری است پر شور و شر   بهر منزلش رنج و خوف و خطر
همه نوش ادخالے از نیش نیست   دلے کوکزین نیش دلریش نیست
خنک آنکه بروی بر افشاند دست   بعیش و با سائشش دل نه بست
گزر کرد ازین گزرگاه تنگ   سبک جست ز این مرحله بیدرنگ

. . . .

تو هم تائبا برگ رفتن بساز   حریفان بر فتند و تو مانده باز
بکاری جهان چون نداری سری   همان به که بگذاری و بگذری
نور دی تو طومار و دفتر بهم   زسال شهادت براری رقم
دوشش صد دوچل دو شش بود سال   زهجر پیمبر ایا خوش خصال
ز ذیحجه مه بر نهم روز بود   به حجاج روز دل افروز بود
که سردار و هفتاد و یکمرد کار   نهادند رو سوئے دارالقرار

He passed his life in complete seclusion from the jarring world and right as a line, in all matters, contented himself in *res angusta domi*. Influenced by mystic freaks, composed many verses with a higher strain of allegory often lurking behind.

محمد که از میم نامش ملک   معظم مکرم بود بر فلک
زحایش بحوران چو نسبت رسید   بگلزار شان رنگ عصمت دمید
زمیم دگر مهبطه جبرئیل   زدالش بخوان در دو عالم دلیل

Mirzā Ahmad 'Ali

Mirzā Ahmad 'Ali flourished in the time of Khudādād Khān; well versed in court crafts, he held a high position among the court-bred men of the ruler. His home at Kalāt was the rendezvous of wits, savants and poets. His poems do not display at all the egotism or greed for wealth and one never meets in the poet readiness for shameless opportunism which were characteristics of the panegyrists of all ages. He was half worldly and half pious—a man of wit, keenly reconciled himself to the hollow

sincerity of a courtier's life. In sacred and profane knowledge none dared to challenge him. Always longing to follow in the steps of Bāyazīd, yet he never tended to prefer sackcloth to satin. He had ample time to cultivate his love for poetry, and wrote many beautiful love songs and several striking, but lavishly ornate panegyrices besides elegies and satires. His chief reputation is maintained because of his lyrical poetry. His Diwān, unpublished, contains the poetry of par excellence; the fluent phraseology and well-weighed thoughts, raises the blossom and fragrance of human thoughts, human passion and emotions. Mirza Ahmad 'Ali deserves to be ranked amongst the great panegyrists and lyrical poets of the orient and can be rightly addressed as the Kalāti Horace of his time. He was a skilful and an original poet. He mainly attempted to copy the lyrical style of Hāfiz and Jāmī. Here is one of his lyrics:—

خون شد جگر از زلف تو مشک ختنی را
رشک از در دندان تو در عدنی را
تنها نه من از جرعهٔ عشقت شده ام مست
این نشه بسر آمده درویش و غنی را
ای! سر و چمان ار بچمی در چمنستان
از پا فگند رشک تو سر و چمنی را
گل چون نگرد نازکی و تازگیٔ تو
دیگر نکند دعوی ناز کبدنی را
اے خسرو خوبان نه زعشق رخ شیرین
فرهاد پزیرفت همان تیشه زنی را
بل بود زعشق رخ تو واله و شیدا
کز بهر تو پذ رفت چنین کوه کنی را
اے احمد! گر شعر شکر ریز تو بیند
طوطی نکند دعوائے شکر شکنی را

In his poetry, we find extraordinary pleasing, emotional and touching similes concerning love and beauty. In the following verse the poet praises marvellously the face and eyebrows of the beloved:—

ماه شد تمام تا که رخ تو شود نشد
کاهید باز تا خم ابرو شود نشد

"The crescent grew to full moon to rival the beloved's face—but failed,
Again (through shame and disappointment) waned to become crescent in order to compete with the beloved's eyebrows—but here, too, failed".

We are told, that once he visited the court of His Highness Meer 'Alī Murād Tālpur and met there Syed J'afar 'Alī of Dhohi, the poet laureate of the Shi'ite Meer. The Ameer, in a flush of joy voluntarily ordered his poet laureate to compose some verses, thereby, he framed the following verse extemporaneously in extreme excitement:

ز عمر خویش بے زارم که او نام عمر دارد
ز چشم خود در آزارم که برسنی نظر دارد

"I am vexed from my life because it bears the name of 'Umar (the second caliph of Islam),
And tired of my sight because it views Sunni." (Muslims).

Intensely gratified, the Meer addressed Mirza to reply in confutation of it. The latter being a rigid Sunni, extemporarily composed the following quatrain:—

(۱) بودبر کنده آن چشمے که ازسنی ضرر دارد　　　دو صد خنجر برآں سینه که آو کین عمر دارد

(۲) روافض گر زند طعنه بیار غار پیغمبر　　　مکن عیبش که آو لعنت زمیراث پدر دارد

"May the eye which expect harm from the Sunni, be plucked up,
Two hundred daggers be thrust in that chest which maintains bitter feelings towards 'Umar.
If the Shī'ite rebuke the Prophet's companion of the cave (Abu Bakr)
Do not censure them because they (Shī'ites) inherit curse through heritage".

Gul Muhammad Magassi

Among the twentieth century poets of Baluchistān, Gul Muhammad, Magassi, is the celebrated of all. His non-de-plume is 'Zeb'. He is the elder brother of the present Magassi chief. Despite of all wealth, he renunciated the worldly clamours for wealth and praise whereas his frigid heart backed by his sedentariness inspirited his spirit to ride Pegasus. Contented with his profession of being a poet, he craved ever to enjoy the traditional poverty of a scholar's life. Though being in the world, was out of the world and contemplated within himself the spiritual world that alone is real and enduring. His Dīwān is named after his pen name as "Panj Guldasta-e-Zeb" and it claims poetry of high class. His dress and ways were quite contrary to his literary values. Passive in speaking, deeply immersed beneath whirling waves of ideas and conceptions, combined his imagination into new forms, more striking, more delightful than those of ordinary nature. It is due to his inciting spirit and the feelings of a lively, gay and versatile character that he seeks to content himself by unexpected combination of original thoughts, fides carbonarii, startling contrasts, flashes of brilliant imagery in his Dīwān and Mathnawi. He is at the same time philosophical, didatic and a mystic poet. No poet, ever in Baluchistan has been able to produce composition on so many variegated subjects with such a masterly hand and with such a wonderful and extraordinary mind as he did compose. He has written many Qasīdāhs with inimitable style, and apart from that he has added many a purple patch in the history of Persian poetry. His Dīwān is throughout free from fescennine verses.

The poet has fished gracefully with great ease and elegance in the vast natatorium of poetry. His entire Dīwān is a fine pattern of elegance, and combines linguistic beauty with melody which is the patent domain of Qā'āni in Persian poetry. He oared his imagination and art in unusual ways and forms. Well balanced thoughts, sweet phraseology, arrangement of fustian and homophonous words in an inflated or pretentious style, extravagant similia, evangelic and esoteric ideas, emotional and enchanting musicalness is the life and soul of his poetry. His omnifarious poetry clearly denotes his omnifarious knowledge and learning. Through and through, again and again, the poet has shown extraordinary poetic skill and ornamentation in a flourish of rhetoric in manifold poems, scaled in all the metres; sometime abstain-

-ing to use a certain alphabet in the whole poem—an art which he manifested concerning all the Arabic Alphabets, and on other occasions, framed Qasīdāhs and lyrics by simply using dotted alphabets, and sometimes, composed verses with complete exclusion of the alphabets having dots i.e. ذ، ج، ن، خ etc. and also versed poems having words which contain throughout alphabets having dots below i.e. ب، پ، ج etc. or alphabets which have dots above them i.e. خ، ث، ت etc.

Here is a lyric, where all the alphabets used have dots:—

غبغبت زیب و زینت جنت   شفیتنت شفق ذقن فضت
بت ذی فن شبی زنجت بجش   بنیشن فیض بخش بے غیبت
تیغ غیظت غش تن بیژن   تخت بختت بزینت شفقت
غیث فیضی بزیب فیض به بخش   زشفیقی غنی بے ضنت

Here is another lyric, specialised by omitting the use of the dotted alphabets:

دل آرامد گر او گردد مرا رام   که دل در درد او گم کرده آرام
دلم هر گه دارد درد دلدار   رود در دار دهد وعده دل آرام
ملک را ملک مارا وصل درکار   گدا را مال مارا مهر آو کام
گر او کم گردد اهل مهر و محرم   رود عمرم دلا در درد و آلام
دلا کرده مرا محکوم امرو   ادا کردا دلم‌را اهودام
مرا دم مهر اولا لعل و گوهر   مدامم رام او هر ماه و هر عام
دلم دارد سر او گل محمد   کم آرد رو سو حکما و حکام

Several lyrics have been versed where the first word of the each verse begins by the same alphabet duly used in the first hemistich:—

ظفر مندی بدین خوبی جمالت را خدا حافظ   همای اوج حسنی پرو بالت را خدا حافظ
ظهور جلوه ات کرده شب دیجور ما روشن   رخت را حق نگهبان خط و خالت را خدا حافظ
ظریفان را شود از خندهٔ تو کام جان شیرین   بگاه خنده لعل پر زلالت را خدا حافظ
ظهیرالدین بابر را دهد حسنت قلق ظاهر   زهے حسنے که حسن با کمالت را خدا حافظ
ظهیر عشق باشد این شباب شورش انگیزت   زهر شورش شباب بیمثالت را خدا حافظ
ظبی چین فدا شد بر نگاهے آهو چشمت   زبر حادثه هر دو غزالت را خدا حافظ
ظهیر فاریابی گر ترا دیدے چنین گفتے   تو فخر فارسی جاه و جلالت را خدا حافظ
ظفر همراه بادت زانکه داری حال فرخنده   توئی فرخنده و فرخنده حالت را خدا حافظ
ظهوری فارسی آموزد از دیوان تو زیبا   همه اشعار فرخ و نیکفالت را خدا حافظ

In this lyric the poet has abstained to use the alphabet 'ق':—

هر دم دلیلے دیگرم آرد بدل رائی دگر   هر شام اندوهی دگر هر صبح سودائی دگر
هر لمحه دیگر فکر تم حزن دگر هر ساعتم   مغلوب غم هر صورتم با واؤ ویلائی دگر
گاه آتش از فکر جهان دارم بدل گه از بتان   صد جوش غم در جسم‌وجان هر لحظه پردائی دگ

هستم سبک چون کودکے نی شرم دارم نے شکے   گه پای در کوی یکی گه دست برپائی دگر
وصلے اگر حاصل شود با شاهد خورشید خد   آندم بدل خواهش دمد بر وصل رعنائی دگر
افکار من لا انتہا آزار من هم لا دوا   هر روز دیگر گون رجا هر شب تمنائی دگر
زیب ار نداری زور و زر اما بعلمی نامور   مثل تو نظم خوب تر ناید ز دانائی دگر

In one of his Qasidahs the poet eulogizes Caliph 'Alī (may his soul rest in peace), in serpentine verses where each word of the verse begins with the first alphabet of the same hemistich and this he performed regarding all the alphabets:—

الف — اُستاد و امیر و اعظم و اکبر علی است   اشجع و اغلب و امام و اقدس و انور علی است
ب — بهار و بوستان و بخت بخش و بادشاه   برق و بیرق دار و بدر و باسل و برتر علی است
ت — تنومند و توانا و تونگر و تاجدار   تاج بخش و تخت گیر و تیغزن و تندر علی است
ث — ثواب اندوز هم ثروت رسان و ثمره بخش   ثابت‌الاقدام هم ثانی آقنقر علی است
ج — جانان و جواد و جاذب و جاهد و جلیل   جانشین مصطفے و هم جد جعفر علی است
ح — حکیم و حکمدار و حافظ و حاکم و حلیم   حامی و حامد و حضور و حارس و حیدر علی است
و — والی ولایت هم وزیر و هم وکیل   واق و وارث و واعظ و هم ساقی کوثر علی است
ه — همه دان و همه بین و هماؤ هوشمند   همت و هر دلعزیز و همرۀ و هشور علی است
ی — یل و یوزا افگن و یاقوت و یعسوب و یسوع   یار یاران و یقینا زیب را یاور علی است

Another voluminous Persian Dīwān 'Armughān-e-'Ashqān', completed in December 1938, remained unpublished, owing to the poets meagre means. The poet also composed many Arabic Qasidahs and lyrics where he has shown his patent poetic skill characterised by the same spark of sublimity and fragrance which is diffused throughout in his venerable and veritable Persian poetry. ZEB (grace) has also graced his thoughts in Sindi language and his Sindi Dīwān also remains unpublished. To give his poetry a new impetus, he determined to compose an English 'Dīwān', based on the style of Keats and Shelley, but, unfortunately, he soon, entered the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns. Notwithstanding his immeasurable, illuminent intellectual flashes and lights, the poet's academic qualification were upto primary education.

Mullāh Muhammad Sadiq

Among historical works dealing with the Khānate dynasty, Akhund Mullah Sadiq's unprinted treatise helps to some extent as a reference book with regard to few Khāns. He is the false Jeremiah of the Brahuis. The author of the treatise born and flourished in Mastung. His date of birth is unknown but according to his own statement, he finished his history on the 11th of Ramdhan, 1276 A.H. and such follows the exordium of his treatise:

بعد حمد ایزد پاک نعت خواجهٔ لولاک محمد کازل تا ابد هر چه هست به ارایش نام او نقش بست اما بعد بندۀ باری اعنی اخوند ملا محمد صدیق شیرازی که از ملا زمان خاندان سلاطین احمدزۀ میباشد

ازین معنی سر رشتهٔ سلسلهٔ مخادیمان خود را که عبارت از خانوادهٔ حضور ایشانست بغایت اختصار در معرض بیان میآرد - بتاریخ یازدهم ماه رمضان‌المبارک سنه ۱۲۷۶ زیور تحریر پوشیده

He was a Persian by birth and blood, but remained throughout his life as half-Persian and half-Baluch, half-poet and half-prose writer. The manuscript consists of more than one hundred pages. As a result of his being himself one of the favourites of the Khāns, he could not as a rule deal with the subject, with a more critical and frank manner as it would have been done by another impartial historian uninfluenced in any way by the Royal favours. The treatise throughout manifests one sided picture of the Khāns with traces of poetic or emotional colouring. Its pages abound with illustrative anecdotes whose nucleus of truth is very easy to discern. The author's genius throughout as a historian is poor and cowardly and has never been scrupulous about what he wrote. Being intellectually timid, a champion of refutable things and a historian of admired disorder, he prostituted his talents in his lavish praise of the contemporary rulers without any justification, for favours to come. The date of the events portrayed in his manuscript seem in many cases to be incorrect as compared with other contemporary books. However, inspite of its various drawbacks, it conveys an interesting information regarding internal corruption and intrigues of the chiefs and of the court of which he was also a member.

Literary activities under the Tālpur Meers of Sind

The rule of the Tālpur Meers was an age of turmoil. The internal and external troubles gave little time to the rulers to replace sword by pen. The Meer's dominion was hemmed in all sides by disturbed states of varying interests. The former were always on the alert to defend their frontiers from the Khāns of Kalāt, Dāūdpotah of Bahāwalpur, the Rājah of Jodhpur and the Afghan aggressors. The seeds of peace and prosperity, art and science had been hardly grown on the soil of Sind when the British Government reaped it with its cruel sickle, never to grow. Only few Meers had the occasion to encourage the growth of art. The four celebrated brothers—Meer Fateh 'Alī Khān, Meer Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Meer Karam 'Alī Khān, and Meer Murād 'Alī Khān ruled over Sind, simultaneously, with perfect peace and harmony. The rest had to wield the sword instead of handling the scholarly pen. Among all the rulers of the line, Karam 'Alī Khān stands distinct as the polar star. His rule presents one of the brightest chapters in the intellectual history of the Tālpur Meers. Celebrated for the politeness of his manners, his intellectual tastes deserve a particular celebration.

Historical works

In 1783 A.D. Muhammad 'Azīm, a respectable man of Thatta (Sind), wrote a history. He lived in the time of Fateh 'Alī Khān Tālpur. The author dedicated his book to the contemporary ruler and named it 'Fatehnāmeh'. It is a metrical history. The book teams with redundant words and enchanting phraseology which was deemed in past as the chief merit of the Orient Writers. The accuracy of the events cannot be doubted but in some places the date of events are evidently incorrect. The book deals comprehensively with the regime of the Kalhorah rulers till the ascendency of Meer Fateh 'Alī Khān.

Meer Yār Muhammad Khān son of Murād 'Alī Khān—the ruler of Sind, (1828-1833) wrote a history in 1857 A.D. and dedicated it to Sir Bartle Frere, then Commissioner in Sind and hence the name 'Frere Nāmeh'. The first portion of this book is entirely taken from the Fatehnāmeh, and the last portion is written by the author through his own experience as he was an eye-witness to the contemporary changes. The records, therefore, dealing with the downfall of the Tālpur regime are terse and to the point. He was also one of those unfortunate Meers who were taken to Calcutta by the English as State prisoners. In 1271 A. H. (1854 A.D.) at the representation of the Governor-General (Lord Dalhousie), the court of the Directors of the East India Company allowed the Meers to return to Sind. Yār Muhammad came back to Hyderābād in December 1856 A.D. due to the suggestion of Sir Bartle Frere. Among other works, Meer Hasan 'AlīKhānTālpur's 'Shāhnāmeh', is worthy of notice. In view of the extent and wealth of its contents, his 'Shāhnāmeh, incorporating most of the heroic legends of the land, is not without interest.

The Frere Nāmeh

Sābit 'Ali, the man of rank and fashion was the poet of poets of his time. He exercised great influence on Meer Karam 'Ali Khān (1811-1828 A.D.) whose special countenance raised the poet for above his merit. Sābit was born in an auspicious time at Multan. He was the son of Madar 'Ali Shāh grandson of Nur Muhammad Shāh (alias, Sābit Shāh) and great grandson of Sayyed 'Isā. Sābit 'Ali Shāh came to Sind with Nawāb 'Azam Khān who was appointed as Subedār of the province. At Multān, the poet joined his suit. The former came to Sehwān where he found the spiritual guide of his family in the neighbourhood of Lāl Shahbāz's shrine. He became permanent resident of Sehwān where after a short time his father Madar 'Ali and his brother Parial Shāh joined him. From childhood, Sābit 'Ali Shāh displayed an original genius as a poet. Well versed in Arabic and Persian, composed in the two languages many extraordinary elegies describing the martyrdom of Imām Hussain and his comrades. He is definitely 'Mir Anis' of Sind by introducing 'Marthiyah' threnodial poems. Several of the elegies teem with unsurpassable praises of Hazrat 'Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam. The poet had marvellous mastery over Sindi language and composed a Dīwān in the same language. Most of his works appeared in Sindi. His works, all in poetry, have not yet been published completely. Dedicating his frequent visits to Persia and Karbela, was thus known as Karbelāi or Zawwar. One of his works contains his autobiography. He supped all his porridge on 27th Jamadessāni 1325 A.H. (1909 A.D.) after completing six score of years and was burried in the graveyard of Sehwān, leaving behind two sons, Imdād 'Ali Shāh and Ihsān 'Ali Shāh.

Poetical works

Various Tālpur Meers liked poetry though their lives were not so poetic. Among the list, His Highness Meer 'Abdul Husain was the first man who introduced 'ghazal' in Sindi.

As compared to their predecessors, the Kalhorahs, we find the Tālpurs lacking in their spirit for fine tastes. The Kalhorah period is the 'golden era' as far as the development of the native language, Sindi, is concerned. The 'Rumi' of Sind, Shāh 'Abdul Latif of Bhitt, is the only mystic poet who infused a new life to Sindi language and literature during the Kalhorah regime.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRINCEDOM OF LAS BELA

The chiefship of Las Bela with an area of 8,000 square miles, lies on the southern coast of Baluchistān, bounded on the North by Jhālāwān plateau of Kalāt, on the southern side it is washed by the Arabian Sea, separated on the east from Sind, by the Khirtar range. It derives its name of Las from a word meaning a plain.

Traces of ancient, foreign domination

The past history of Las Bela is wrapped in obscurity. Nothing is known for certainty about the ancient dynasties holding sway over the country until the rule of the present Jāms, when the shell of darkness has been cast away. No historian so far has been able to lift the curtain of Las Bela's inscrutable past. Alexander's march through Makurān and Las Bela is a landmark in the history of the land. The army of Alexander appears to have marched through the southern part of Las Bela in 325 B.C. The configuration of the State corresponding to the description of Alexander's voyage has definitely undergone great change and the names of the places given in Arrian's description[1] cannot be identified with certainty with the exception of the few. Armabel of Alexander's time is the Bela of today, while Kalama and Malana of the Greeks can be identified with the present Kalmat and Ras-Malan. We have, even now, a big tribe named Gadra, scattered throughout Las-bela, and who are undoubtedly, the venerable descendants of the ancient Gadorossi of the Greeks. The Greeks, in the 4th century B.C. called the inhabitants and all along the coast-Arabii, Oritae, Horitae or Ori-names closely connected with Solo-Phallic cult. It cannot be doubted that Bela may have been so named by the Sun-worshippers whom Cyrus, and Hystaspes father of Darius (521 B.C.) nominated here to rule, when he conquered the country in the 6th century B.C. The ancient Achaemenian rulers held sway over the land for a long period and might have forcibly implanted their Fire and Solar faiths on the conquered as was the custom among the Greek and Roman conquerors.

Few years after the year of Hijra, Raja Chach of Sind seems to have marched through Las-Bela (the 'Arman-bela' of the Chachnāmeh) en route to Kirmān, the ruler of Armabel (Bela) is said to have received Chach.[2]

In the seventh century the country appears to have been ruled by a Budhist priest as described by the author of 'Chachnāmeh' that Chach conquered Armabel which he found occupied by Budhists. After the Arab conquest of Makurān, Budhism gave place to Islam. It remained, to a greater part of its history, under the Hindu

1. Arrian's 'Anabasis', book VI, Chapter XXII, quoted in Mr. Crindle's Ancient India, Its Invasion by Alexander the Great, p. 169.

2. Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 407.

rulers of Sind. The Lasbela's cultural history is an interesting blend of Jat and Rājput elements; their present customs and language are an illustration of the effect produced by the alienation of these races under the Hindu rulers of Sind with the aborigines of the country.

Tribal feuds for supremacy and emergence of the Jāmate dynasty to power

Previous to the rise of the Aliāni family, to which the present ruling chief known as the Jām, belongs; the chiefs of the Gujar, Gunga, Burfat, and Runjha tribes exercised independent sway within their tribal territories. The struggle between these tribes for the mastery of power was but a prelude to graver developments. It was a period of complete anarchy. Might was the law of the day. Exploitation was the recognised policy, confusion dwelt in every face and fear in every heart. Ruin and turmoil seized and waited on the banners of the petty rulers. The Runjha tribe superseded all the tribes, under their leader Saffar. His successor pursued the policy of aggression, his tyranny disgusted his subjects, revolts and defections occurred on every side, which ultimately resulted in the overpowering of the Runjha tribe by the Gunga tribe whose two successive rulers were Jām Dīnar and Jām Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm's rule was marked with monstrous atrocities. About the Hijra 1046 (1638 A.D.), Jām 'Ali, the chief of the Jamot tribe, gained the whole country after dilapidating the succiduous Gunga structure. He was succeeded by a weak succeessor, Jām Rubāna, who could not withhold the turbulent chiefs. Discontent soon led to open revolt. His diplomatic shiftiness and political servility, presented a terrible scene of disturbance and disorder. The relations between the ruler and the ruled became gradually more and more cold and constrained and matters came to a crisis. His death was followed by much disputed succession. The days between his death and his successor had been tarnished with a crimson river of blood. Once again the throne of Las-Bela presented the best opportunity for opportunists to test their arms. Ultimately, the sword of the Burfat tribe struck at Jāmate crown and seized the reign of the disturbed state.

Dynasty established

The endless internal broils fostered by the chiefs succeeded in undermining the Burfati usurpers, while presenting the semblance of an opportunity to the old Rubāna family who were once again destined to restore the chiefship of Las Bela with the aid of the Khānate house. Henceforth, the Rubāna dynasty rose at the expense of that of the Burfatis, whose chiefship was conquered after many alternations of fortune. Jām 'Ali surnamed Kathūri was declared by unanimous will of the people as their ruler. It was under this Jām that the final subjugation of Las Bela to Jāmote rule was effected and the present dynasty owes its foundation to this man.

The rulers of the Jām family attained their greatest importance in the middle of the 18th century. They held the land on as tenure from the Khān of Kalāt, acknowledging latter's supremacy and were bound in time of war, to furnish a force of 2,700 men[1].

In the first quarter of the 19th century the royalet of Las Bela was hard pressed

1. 'Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman', by Thoronton, p. 201.

on one side by the swordmen of Kalāt, on the other side by the proud cavalcade and cavaliers of the Tālpurs; whereas, the Las Bela chiefship seemed to be lost for ever. The Tālpur Meers cast covetous eyes on the port of Sonmiānī. The Las Bela chiefs by the dint of matrimonial alliances with the Mengal chief of Jhālāwān sealed the knot of friendship with the mountain terrors who ever since became their permanent allies. Such relations automatically brought them into the close quarters of the Kalāt politics. Mr. Masson who happens to have visited Las Bela in 1843, briefly describes the affairs of the State in the following words:

'The Government of the Lumri community of Las is vested in a hereditary chief, with the title of Jām, a Rājpūt name (still found in Kathiawar). He exercises within his own territories an independent and uncontrolled jurisdiction, acknowledging nevertheless, the supremacy of the Brahoie chief of Kalāt, to whom, if required, military service is rendered. Although it is understood that the chief of Kalāt may not, on occasions of lapses of authority, disturb the natural order of succession, his concurrence in the selection of the future ruler is deemed necessary, and his deputy performs the inaugural ceremony of seating the new Jam on the Masnad.'

Blood-affinity of the Jāms

The present Jāms designate themselves as Jāmot but they claim to be Qurayshite Arabs. The ruling family claims descent from 'Abdul Munāf of the Quraysh tribe. The general tradition that Bhagirath, a descendant of 'Abdul Munāf came to Jāmnagar in India and became ruler of that place. His descendant, Mehrān, who embraced Islam emigrated to Sind and conquered the province which remained under his descendant until it was overrun by Jehāngir, the Moghul Emperor of India. The then ruler of Sind, Jām Aradeen, fled and settled in Las-Bela. The Jām Aradeen is the ancestor of the present Jāmate family of Las-Bela. Few ascribe them to be an off-shoot of the Persian King, Jamshed. But they are indisputably of Jāt-Rājpūt origin. Several names of the princesses manifest some tinge of Rājpūt bond of association, as for example—Bibi Ashat Bhāī, Bibi Khadeja Bhāī, and Bibi Bachal Bhāī, etc. 'Bhāī' denotes firmly that they are blood-brothers of the Rājpūts.

Jām 'Ali's reign

Jām 'Alī Khān I surnamed 'Kathūri' succeeded in 1742, and is the first authentic name and by far the greatest in the Jamate house. He was the first independent and capable ruler of Las-Bela, full of rare qualities, rarely to be found among the succeeding Jāms. His surname 'Kathūri' meaning 'Mūsk' denotes his extraordinary qualities which were so appealing and attractive as the sweet fragrance of Mūsk. He is the master figure in the history of Las-Bela. After the death of this senescent Jām, his successors spent themselves in fratricidal quarrels and, eventually, succumbed one after the other to the sordid intrigues of the sundry nobles. The throne of Las-Bela proved as shaky as a reed for her rulers till the beginning of the nineteenth century. The following is the list of Aliāni Jāms with the probable dates of their succession after the death of Jām 'Alī Khān I, till the succession of Jām Meer Khān II. Jām Ghulām Shāh, 1765-66; Jām Meer Khān I, 1776; Jām 'Alī Khān II, 1818.

Jām Meer Khān II, succeeded in 1830 (circa). He endeavoured to throw off friendly relations with the Khān of Kalāt and prepared to be at logger-heads. Often he combed the hair the wrong way. The greater part of his reign was occupied with wars against the Khānate government. These disturbances were prelude to many mishaps. In 1868, he with the aid of Jhālāwān Brahuis, laid waste a great part of Kalāt territory, exalted his horn, and asserted his own independence over Las Bela irrespective of his treaties with the Khānate. To give Jām Meer Khān II, a stern lesson through the right of the sword, Khudādād Khān sent a huge Sarāwānian force to remedy the disorder prevailing in Las-Bela. The Jām after a stubborn resistence surrendered himself; the general insurrection was suppressed, and the Jām sought refuge in British territory with a yearly allowance of Rs. 8,000 to be paid to him in case he completely refrains from intriguing in the Kalāt affairs with the Brahui chiefs.

The British authorities, however, recognized the Khān of Kalāt as "the sovereign of Baluchistan", with Las-bela as its integral part. In 1876, Sir William Merewether wrote:—"Facing the Sind border there is but one country, presided over by one Ruler, the Khan, to whom all the chiefs of the various tribes within it owe allegiance[1]". After the expulsion of Jām Meer Khān from Las-Bela, the State remained without a nominal head for few years and the Khān of Kalāt took no measures to administer it.

On the 22nd April, 1873, the then British Commissioner in Sind wrote to Khān Khudādād Khān "I would call your Highness's attention to the urgent necessity which exists for early arrangements being made for the purpose of the administration of the rich district of Beyla, now for so many months left without any official to respect or maintain your authority. This is required in justice to your subjects there, but it will likewise tend greatly to your advantage in the largely increased revenue that will come into your Treasury". In 1877, Jām Meer Khān II, was pardoned and reinstalled on the Masnad and two years later was granted a personal salute of nine guns. In 1888, he went to eternal sleep and was succeeded by Jām 'Ali Khān III who was created a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire in 1893. Sir Robert Sandeman speaks of him as a fit ruler, keen to increase the revenue of the State. He died on the 14th January 1896, and in the May of the same year he was succeeded by his eldest son Kamāl Khān with the condition that for five years at least after his accession he would pass all administrative powers to the Wazīr appointed by the Government of India. His reign marked a crisis in the destiny of the State. He is reported to have made secret preparations against the British who considered it as a prelude to rebellion. On the 24th October 1896, a strong escort consisting of two rifles, 130 Baluchis, and a platoon of the Sind Horse, commanded by Major J. O. Mennie, started from Karachi. He captured the capital with hardly a blow and discovered 100,000 rounds of ball cartridges with few bags filled with ammunition. The British escort remained at the capital for five months and the State was saddled with an army of occupation till 14th of March 1897. Kamāl Khān died in June 1921. His elder son Ghulām Muhammad Khān succeeded to the throne on

1. See letter No. 340 dated 5th April, 1872, from Sir W.L. Merewether to the Governor and President in Council, Bombay, Baluchistan, No. 1, Papers relating to the affairs of Kalat, 1877.

26th June 1921. The reign of this man of Gath proved not worth a groat. The real power was in the hand of the Wazīr appointed by the British Government whose policy invited great chances to the internecine conflicts among the tribes and his relatives, who later on exposed the Jām to an inglorious end. In 1935, while on a shooting excursion, he died accidentally by a bullet fired by one of his companions; the incident was considered as a pre-meditated conspiracy designed by one of his relatives who employed to such a villainous execution. His son, the present Jām, a perplexing compound of grave gainsayings succeeded to the chiefship, only to go out of God's blessing into the warm sun.

It will be short of Justice, to close the Jāmate chapter without mentioning one of the most curious episodes of a long 'Trojan war' of the Las-Bela history.

The war of Lizard

The polarization of the Baluchi world by the tribal feuds and dualism held in check the national growth of the race, if, ever craved for. The tribal hostilities akin to the Arab archetype, arose from disputes over pasture lands, sheep or cattle, etc. Numerous are the instances in the Arab history when tribal feuds between the Qaysites and the Yamanites once made the land of Syria, the scene of relentless warfare. The battle of Labūs between the tribes of Banu Bakr and Bani Th'alah on a pasture ground lasted for forty years (494 A.H.-534 A.H.) celebrating in the end, the death of seventy thousand souls. The battle of Wāhis, none the less, between two other Arab tribes lasting for sixty three years (568-631 A.H.) took its root from an ordinary horse-racing contest between two persons. But the 'War of Lizard' between two Baluch tribes, Bulfati and Kalmati, had its own special merits of the barbaric sense of honour which eclipses all past or present tribal conflicts of any race. Few boys of the Kalmati tribe pursued in an open field a lizard to kill it, but the reptile crept into a neighbouring Bulfati tent, where at the time, none of the male member was present. A woman came out and refused to produce the lizard as it had become her refugee. Inspite of the lady's interposition, the boys entered the tent and killed the lizard. On her husband's arrival, she infuriated by the disgrace done to her, narrated the whole story and avowed 'since this day, thou art my brother and myself thine sister, until, thou taketh vengeance of the lizard on the members of the Kalmati tribe'. Failing to seek any alternative, he attacked a Kalmati house. After murdering one man, escaped safely. This quarrel of the few became the business of both the tribes and the quench for revenge on both sides developed into a chronic state. The heroes of both the tribes glorified on the battle field and their respective poets im-poverised panegyrices upon their heroes, and satires upon their adversaries which fanned the flames of animosity among them in the same manner as a caustic harangue of a demagogue on a modern political platform. Once in a single fight, one hundred men were killed inspite of the continuous reciprocal raiding and plundering. Two centuries had run its course since the occurrence of the incident, but even today, the blood of the august refugee is commemorated by incessant clashes of arms between the two tribes.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHIEFSHIP OF KHARAN

This chapter winds up, in its pages, gleam of a dynasty whose law was the dictates of sword and whose object was mere rapine and subjugation. They turned many Oases into deserts than deserts into Oases.

It is hardly possible to imagine any part of Baluchistan of similar physical configuration possessing so romantic and varying a past as the Khārān State with an area of 14,210 square miles. It was once the centre of clashing interests between three Muslim powers—Persia, Afghanistan and the Khānate of Kalāt, all of which environed it on all sides.

The ancient name of the country as stated by Arab Chroniclers appears to have been 'Qārān' or 'Kārān'. Al-Istakhri mentions the Qārān or Barfen mountains which seems identifiable with the present Rās-Koh. The author of 'Kitāb-i-Masālik-o-Mamālik' mentions the name of Koh-i-Kārān. The learned Abul Fazl while dealing with the mountains of Baluchistan, mentions the range of mountains which joins Kech on one side, and the other Kalmati district, which he calls 'Karah'. An interesting saying, though apparently a conjectural significance of the origin of the name is current among the natives:

> 'Khārān jā-e-Khwārān, Daste-ma-dārān, chammi ma istārān'.
>
> 'Kharan the home of the miserables, whose hands are on the trees and their eyes starred on stars.

(Hands on trees refer to their poverty, depending on the wild products of the jungles).

The general aspect of the country cannot be said to be inviting. Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a worthless place for man's habitation than this territory. The discouraging physical features are, anyhow, subject to great political significance which is a matter of no small importance. The unhealthy climate and barrenness of the territory ever proved a natural defence against the invading armies. The deluge of summer is very dreadful and it has tested the colourful description of many fanciful journalists: 'The muscles of the unhappy sufferer', writes Hughes, 'become rigid and contracted, the skin shrivels, an agonizing sensation, as if the flesh were on fire, pervades the whole frame, and in the last stage it cracks into deep gashes, producing hemorrhage, which quickly ends his misery'.

Historical significance and the Nikodarians

The mountain tracts, west of the Koh-i-Kārān, were under the rulers of Kirmān, which, after the downfall of the Buwahides, came under the sway of the Seljukides. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, this region was ruled by the Khawārazms of which, Kirmān, was a dependent kingdom. Soon after, it fell to the Karā Khitāi feudatories of the Mongol Sovereigns. The Karā-Khitāi dynasty submitted to the vigour of the Timurides. Price, quoting as authority the author of

'Rauz-us-Safa', deals with the defeat of Nikodarians in the plains of Khārān in 1383 by Mirān Shāh, son of Timur, the 'Noble Tartarian': "The reduction of Seistan having been thus accomplished, Teymur directed his march for Bost; in their progress towards which, his troops are described to have possessed themselves of the fortress, or fortified town of Tauk . . . In the meantime, putting his troops in motion from a place called Koukeh Kellah, advices reached Teymur, that Toumen, the veteran chief of the Nikoudrians, was retired in the direction of Kidge or Kutch, and Mekran. On which, ever vigilant to provide for the security of his power, he conceived it immediately expedient to detach his son Meiran Shah, accompanied by Ameirkeh Mohomed, the son of Sheir-e-Behraum rendered illustrious by his alliance with Teymur, and Amir Hadjy Seyfuddin, with other distinguished commanders, in order to crush at once those plans of hostility that might be engendering in that quarters.

'After a march which he continued with little intermission both night and day, Meiran Shah on the plains of the Keren[1], and at last, came up with the Nikoudrian, whom he found at the head of his tribe prepared to give him battle. From a consideration of the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them, and of the advanced age of the old chief, Hadjy Seyfuddin, nevertheless, ventured to address him aloud by name; and in respectful and soothing language, endeavoured to prevail upon him, without apprehension of evil, to accompany him to the presence of Teymur, assuring him at the same time of the happy consequence that would be the infallible result of such a concession on his part. But as the messenger of death was already at hand to seize his victim, the counsels of friendship had lost their effect upon the mind of the Nikoudrian, the action immediately commenced, his head was struck off at the very first outset by the troops of Meiran Shah who failed not to transmit without delay to his father's camp this assured proof of the success of his enterprise[2]".

The barrenness of the country as stated before became the chief source of its protection from foreign aggression though it lay always at the track of invaders who swooped upon India from the north. Nothing is known for certainty about the history of the country after the lapse of the Timuride cyclone till the beginning of the 17th century. Her history within this period is entirely lost in fable and obscurity.

Ancient Baluchistan comprised of Gadrosia and part of Drangiana, the former corresponded with Gadrosia and the latter with Seistān; Khārān probably was connected with the latter division. The early history of this region is involved in the mystery which usually prevails over the first ages of a country or a race. All the Khārān traditions centre round the Kiānian, Tāhiride and Saffāride Maliks and it can be asserted that Khārān might have followed the fortune of Seistān and acknowledged the paramount power of the country according to the successive political changes of the latter, but these assertions cannot be affirmed positively through the clear light of decisive history. From the first quarter of the 17th century till the British occupation of the land, Khārān loomed large upon the stage of history. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Nausherwānis are heard of. They

1. Keren i.e. Khārān.
2. 'Principal events in Mohammedan History', Vol. III, part I, pp. 47-49, by Price.

groped their way in the dark, until, recently, their realm embraced the whole of Khārān besides few places on the Persian border. The Nausherwānis, the Khārān chief's family, claim their descent from Kiānian stock. No authencity can be accredited to their claim. It is a well-favoured custom among the Asiatic races to connect their pedigree with the exalted tribe of the Qurayshite Arabs or to that of any other orient dynasty of fame and name. The Nausherwānis cannot trace their origin further back than three generations beyond Ibrāhim Khān who served under Sultān Shāh Hussain of Persia in 1697 A.D. Ibrāhim's grand-father's name was Nausherwān, and, doubtlessly, the family takes its name from this ancestor. Another assumption will not be without credit that the Nikodari tribes of Seistān had their headquarters in the present Khārān district and that the eponym of the Nausherwāni ruling family, the descendants of Ameer Nausherwān, was the famous freebooting chief, Ameer Nausherwān Nikodari, who died of wounds received in battle in the district of Yazd, and whose descendants may have been Malik Dosten, and his son Malik Dinār who are extolled as the chief heroes of the wars ensured between the Meerwāris and the Jadgāls (Jats). The Khārān chief always owed allegiance to Persia or Afghanistan as circumstances dictated. If friendship cooled between Khārān and Tehrān, it was strengthened between Khārān and Kabul.

Among the list of Nausherwāni notables, the name of Purdil Khān stands to a higher water mark than any of his predecessors or successors. He was a man of approved integrity and indisputable energy. He brought all the neighbouring tribes to temporary submission and compelled them to pay tribute. In 1730, Nādir Shāh of Persia, the Napoleon of East, on his way to Afghanistan sent for Purdil Khān. Under-estimating Nādir's might, he paid little heed to the conqueror's order. On his return in 1734, Nādir despatched a force under Pir Muhammad Khān, Governor of Kirmān, and Ilmās Khān, Governor of Seistān, to bring Purdil Khān in chains. The Khārāni chief gave a murderous hand to hand fight but the well organised Persian army, who recently measured their swords with the Afghans, broke through the Khārāni ranks and shook the very foundation of the Khārānian structure. Sallies were made by the Khārānis, but they were beaten in with loss. Many towns were yielded over to plunder and flames. Majority of the inhabitants were wiped out of existence. The blood thirsty commander never desisted from destruction. The news of the easy conquest of the mountain chief was sent to Nādir and Purdil himself was taken as a captive and his country for a short time fell a prey to the resistless prestige of the redoubtable conqueror. He was soon released, pardoned and reinstated to his pristine position. In 1736, again his restless spirit led him to attack Persian frontier, where he lost his two sons, leaving his grandson 'Abbās as a captive. The raid yielded incomparable spoils to him in the form of beautiful women and children numbering four thousand, caught as prisoners of war. In 1740, again the insatiable ambition of Nādir induced him to trample mercilessly, the Khārāni chief. Four years afterwards, in 1740, Nādir sent a force under one of his generals who with dramatic rapidity attacked Khārān, and destroyed village after village like the sweep of an epidemic disease. Revenge prompted him to burn the town and neighbouring villages. The inhabitants were slaughtered and captivated. The obstinacy of the Khārān chief was humbled down, and he concluded permanent peace terms with the Persian comman-

der. Purdil soon ingratiated himself with Nādir and his later years were dedicated to the loyalty of his Persian suzerain who bestowed on him the possessions of Pidark and Kolwa, in Makurān. Purdil is reported to have assisted Nādir in his Bokhara campaign. Soon after the conquest of Bokhara, his pillars of universe collapsed.

Durrani influence and Azād Khān's role

Seven years after Purdil's death (in June 1747 A.D.) Nādir Shāh dropped into the grave with his fame and glory, to be followed by several aspirants whose fortune shone on the ruins of the Afshār empire. The entire Eastern Kingdom (Afghanistan) was unsurped by the Durrāni Afghans. After Purdil Khān, his elder son Shāhdād became the chief after brushing away from the masnad his brother 'Abbās II who was nominated previously. Under Shāhdād, Khārān owed liegedom to Ahmad Shah. From this chief till the succession of Azād Khān in 1833, various puppet chiefs came into succession. Azād Khān was forty years of age when he ascended the Sardari Masnad. The deadly disputes between the Kalāt ruler, Khudādād Khān, and Azād Khān, threw the latter into the arms of Afghanistan.

In the second Afghan War, at the battle of Maiwand, Azād Khān's men fought shoulder to shoulder with their Afghan allies against the British. After this he constantly engaged himself in wars against the Khān of Kalāt. He disputed for every inch of his ground to maintain his independence and the memorable conflicts of the Khārāni chief remain immortalised on the pages of Kalāt history. The keen contention and eager rivalry of the hostile camps sowed the seeds of the present misfortune of both the neighbouring states. In 1856, Azād Khān sided with the Persians in their war against the British Government. Thenceforward, Khārān, permanently acted as the daughter state of Persia and the pupil of her revolutions. It became respectively a challenge to Afghanistan, the British and an affront to the Ahmadzai dynasty whose existence always transgressed it. Naseer II, of Kalāt, married the daughter of Azād Khān. But the matrimonial knot could not solve the caprices of both the ambitious rivals. In 1871, he took part in the rebellion of the Brahui chiefs led against the Kalāt ruler. He was the author of several inroads, for which he mustered an infantry of three thousand men. Once he stormed Chāgai and delivered up to sack, the villages belonging to Kamāl Khān Sanjarāni. On another occasion, he attacked the Nushki Zaghar Mengals and looted them to the last penny; buildings were razed to the ground and few were carried off into slavery. He never spared the Dāmanis, and the Rakhshānis of Persian border who afterwards made a common cause against him. In the neighbourhood of Koh-i-Taftān, the hostile forces met each other. The Khārān chief, at the head of his cavalry stormed the enemy and after a stubborn resistence the army of the Persian Baluchis converted into a fleeing panic-stricken mob before his disciplined warriors like a throng of gnats warring against a hurricane. The Persian Baluchis surrendered many border towns for weeks to an indiscriminate carnage.

Azād swayed over his own men with parental authority and bound himself with parental obligations. But to the neighbouring tribes, he was a lash used to inflict pain or punishments. Amidst all dangers and misfortunes, he was crowned with complete success by the dint of his untiring energy and fearless courage. The restless raiding spirit of Azād Khān to scourge and impoverish neighbouring terri-

tories assured the authorities at British Baluchistan that they could not guarantee peace and prosperity in the occupied territories without contracting friendly agreement with the Khārān chief. In December 1883, the Panjgūr Commissioner under Sir Robert Sandeman started towards Khārān, with the consent of Azād Khān who received them with hearty welcome. A Darbār was held which ended in a great success. Azād Khān acknowledged the supremacy of the Khān of Kalāt and a greed to take his seat on Darbār occassions with the Sārāwānian line of the Brahui confederacy. Mr. Thornton deems this act of Sir Robert Sandeman as a success *d'estime* and writes:

> 'The focus of trade routes, converging from India, Persia and Afghanistan, and well known as the Headquarters of Azad Khan, the late chief of the Nausherwani tribe, for years the enemy of Khelat and the terror of the border villages, whose conversion from a determined foe into a useful friend was not the least of Sir Robert Sandeman's achievements'.

On the 17th of May 1884, Azād Khān visited Quetta. A personal allowance of Rs. 6,000 per annum which he previously received from the Ameer of Kabul, was granted to him for the maintenance of peace in his country, and at the same time safeguarding all European travellers and protecting trade routes passing through his country. After these friendly relations, roads leading to Khārān and trade routes, became as safe as the streets of London.

'With Azad Khan', writes Tate, 'passed away the last of the Baluch chieftains of the old school. During his long life he had seen many changes taken place. In 1839, he had taken the part of the popular party who were opposed to the nominee whom we had placed on the throne of Kalat, and had led the forces of the malcontents which threatened Quetta in 1840. The Kharan men were present at Maiwand also, forty years later, and with the spoils of that fight, and rifles stolen from Kandahar, Azad Khan was able to arm permanently about a hundred men who constituted, as it were, his standing army. In addition he could count on the loose hordes of brigands whom his qualities attracted round him whenever he took war-path[1]'. Sir Robert Sandeman after many personal interviews gives a vivid description of this dynamic chief:

> 'Inspite of his great age, Azad Khan retains his mental faculties unimpaired. Bowed by age, he is unable to mount a horse without assistance, but once in the saddle his endurance is greater than that of many a younger man. Possessed of unflinching resolution, impatient of wrong, generous to reward, stern and relentless in punishment, Sirdar Azad Khan has above all things enjoyed a reputation for unswerving honesty. He is never known to depart from his word once given, and has a sincere contempt for chicanery or falsehood[2]'.

In the eyes of the Calcutta Foreign Office, he was epitheted with the unappropriate sobriquet of being a 'bandit', 'traitor' and 'irreconcilable'. Sir Robert in one of his letters addressed to Lord Northbrook. the then Viceroy of India, remarked about him as the 'Rob Roy' of that part of the Khanate, and it will be very interesting meeting him.

1. 'The Frontiers of Baluchistan', by G. P. Tate, p. 9.
2. 'Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman', by T. H. Thornton, p. 181.

"Azad Khan" describes Holdich, "was quite the typical border chieftain. At ninety he was strong in the saddle, swift in resolve, fierce in action, and it appeared to be all the same to him whether he raided Persia, or Kalat, or the Quetta frontier. His hand was against every man, and a strong right hand it was. One of Sandeman's final measures towards the reviving and reorganising of the ancient confederation of Baluch chiefs was directed towards Azad Khan of Kharan; and, as usual, he seized on the earliest opportunity to effect his purpose in person[1]".

Azād Khān was the pattern of Baluch valour, custom, honour, tradition and generosity. His celebrity and glory plumed everyone in the country. He maintained a regular force of one hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry and three thousand match-lockmen. Every young man was expected to possess arms, and to keep ready a goat-skin of water, a pair of Baluchi sandals (made of grass) and at least 8-lbs. of flour as a ration to be used in cases of emergency. After days of work and travelling, nobody ever saw his body or mind otherwise than keen, alert and jovial. His wisdom, far-sightedness, and estimation of things was so prompt and quick that he never commenced a thing until he felt that his success was a sure card. Bloodshed and misery were his main hobbies. This terror of the Baluch frontier measured his fame and glory by the degree of destruction and wars. He was a man of indomitable will, a great character, brave as a game-cock and stronger than all the contemporary chiefs. His merits as a general of high calibre and a true gentleman of the pad made him the focus and mainstay of all the Persian border tribes. He died in extreme old age, and, we may leave his character and merits to his countrymen who loved and adored him more than any other chief that ascended on the Khārāni masnad. He is the last of the warrior chiefs of Khārān.

After Azād Khān's death, his illegitimate son 'Azim Khān debated with his elder brother Nauroz Khān for the chiefship and dared to risk his life in this hopeless cause, which, ultimately, accelerated his ruin and ended in his death. Nauroz Khān at the age of twenty-nine succeeded to the chiefship in 1884. In 1888, he was honoured by the dignity of a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire for the assistance rendered by him to the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1884, and also help given to Colonel Bell, V.C., in his journey to Persia across his territory. Throughout his career he carried the policy in the spirit of his master—the British. The rest of the chiefs who followed Nauroz, in their successive periods, are those who abandoned themselves to the pleasure of their possessions. And the Nausherwānis, to quote Holdich, 'as a fighting, raiding restless clan they are perhaps unequalled on the border[2]', are now caroled for their luxury and intrigues in the whole of Baluchistan. To tell the various stages of their decay would only weary the reader with a catalogue of sad catalysis and declension of piety.

1. 'The Indian Borderland', by Colonel Sir T. Hungerford Holdich, p. 203.
2. Ibid, pp. 202-203.

CHAPTER X

THE CHAGAI BALUCHIS

The Chāgai territory covering 18,892 square miles, embraces on its northern side the Afghan territory of Shorāwak and emerges straight to the Persian border on its western side. The origin of the name remains obscure and no authenticity can be attributed to any claim. Probably it derives its name from a village named Chāgai situated on the western fringe of the Lora Hāmūn, but this is purely conjectural and seems apocryphal. By the Durand agreement the Sanjarāni territory extending from Chāgai to Seistān, came under the administration of the Baluchistan Agency. The whole region is an outlying pastoral inhabitat, a terra firma, a veritable waste, populated by uncouth and powerful tribes. Chāgai has been exposed since ages to the present age to the marauding fury of the neighbouring tribes of Afghanistan and Persia. Her virgin spoils, if any, were often rifled by alien aggressors that happened to pass through the territory. The physical condition of the place favoured nomadism more than any other part of Baluchistan. One may travel for days without seeing a blade of grass. In the green and cultivable spots, when one leaves the pleasing sight, he meets at once the dreary desert and the change seems as dreadful as from life to death. The physiography of the area has great effect upon the physique and morale of the inhabitants. They posses the qualities of the nomadic people of the mountains of which valour, tenacity and hospitality are the immediate productions. A Chāgaite is ever contented with desert life. He is today what he was yesterday.

History

The general repulsive features of the physical geography of the land, i.e. its leaness of soil, varying weather, excessive heat and lack of water, seldom invited the greed of the conquering nations, and never allured any conqueror to settle in the land permanently. The natural elements proved staunch allies to the inhabitants in turbulent times. It remained unweathered through storms of violence and convulsion that swept over Baluchistan and the waves of conquest and reconquest left no permanent mark on this part of the country. Like other parts of Baluchistan, its ancient history remains in a recondite condition. Traces of ancient history can be grasped by terraced embankments 'Gaurbastas' and square shaped tombs which are ascribed by the local traditions to the Achaemenian dynasty of ancient Persia. At few places, we meet with old forts, ruined cities and underground aqueducts (kārezes) which are commonly assigned to the Arabs after their settlement in Seistān, and also to the Moghuls who ruled over Afghanistan and Khurāsān. The ancient relics extant in the country, clearly depict of a more civilised race dominating the country than the present inhabitants. The chequered history of Chāgai is adorned with a charm of historic importance as the country lay on the path of the conquering hosts pouring through Persia and Afghanistan, which, consequently, claim the close attention of the students of Baluch-

istan history. At the eve of Baluch migration into the country, it constituted one of the dependencies of the Kandahār Province under the Saffavid dynasty (1556-1595). Later on, the fluctuations of Kandahār Province from one dynasty to another, automatically changed Chāgai's history. The passing of Kandahār as a Moghul province under the Delhi Emperors, occasioned the Chāgāites to bid farewell to her previous master. Prior to the conquest of Chāgai by the Khānate of Kalāt, it had been for a long time, sacked and plundered by the united savagery of the Afghan and Persian invaders. The fate of Chāgai and the Baluchis of Garmsir (Afghanistan) had been linked for the major part of its history with that of Kandahār. The political changes over Kandahār accordingly changed the history of Chāgai and Garmsir Baluchistan[1]. During and before the Nādirian cyclone swept over Sind and Baluchistan, these territories owed loyalty to the Ghilzai rulers of Kandahār. From Kandahār, Nādir sent Muhammad 'Ali Beg to bring under submission the Chāgai territory.

On the 9th of the last month of 1148 A.H. (beginning of April, 1736 A.D.), Muhammad 'Ali Beg, the Sarpulailu, encountered near Shorāwak, a large number of Baluchis led by a Baluch chief who was then in alliance with Sher Khān Baluch, the Chief of Nushki. The Persian army assailed the Baluchis, all of whom fell into a reverie and retreated towards Nushki, leaving seven hundred men dead on the field. The truculent Commander, at the head of his Kazil Bāsh forces, dogged the Baluch Chief, Sher Khān, and met him near Nushki, where the Baluch chief fought back to the ropes and braved his life, instead of being a captive. The Nushki district yielded as a prey to the fiendish rage of the astonishing General who for many days surrendered the town of Nushki to the wild phantasm of his soldiery. In the same year after pacifying the rebel tribes of Nushki, Nādir handed over the charge of the district to Khārān chief as a benefice which was, a little later, snatched away by sheer show of force by Naseer Khān I, and thereafter, it became a Niabat of Kalāt till the cessation of the whole district to the British Government in 1899 by Mahmūd Khān II, for an annual subsidy of Rs. 9,000 without any deduction for cost of administration, of a country as large as Belgium and important strategically more than any other place on the North Indian Frontier.

The District of Chāgai occurs in the biographies and journals of the 19th century. The fascinating description of the land by Emperor Humāyun and Ameer 'Abdur Rahmān of Kabul remain as ever fresh in the memories of the countrymen. No historical event in the annals of Baluchistan gleams with majestic magnificence, venerable virtue and chivalrous emprise more than the compassion of a Baluch chief shown once towards a Muslim Indian Emperor.

An enchanting episode

Chāgai boasts of having given soil to two great monarchs of their race. After the defeat at Chaunsa in 1539, the whole of India seemed to Humāyun like a roaring sea of adversaries. The Emperor left with his wife, Empress Hamidah Begum, the mother

1. See Akbar Nāmeh and Nādir Nāmeh. The Germsir territory of Afghanistan is mainly populated by the Baluchis. It is, in fact, a Baluch province under the Afghan suzerainty. The Rakhshāni, Gorghez, Sāsoli, Sanjarāni, and Nahoruis, etc., are the biggest Baluch tribes that inhabit the land as peaceful cultivators, watered by river Helmand.

of the greatest Moghul Emperor, Akbar, towards Kabul, trudging from place to place to seek sweet safety. At Kabul, the emperor barely escaped assasination by the hand of his brother Mirza Kāmrān. Finally, he left for Persia via Chāgai. When the rays of the ultra-red ball—the eye of day—began to fade in the western sky, Emperor Humāyun with the Empress reached a Baluchi village. He was honourably received by the chief of the tribe, inspite of the orders given to the chief by Kāmrān Mirza about the capture of Humāyun, notwithstanding that, he escorted him to the Persian border. The Baluch chief mainly led by the traditional Baluch hospitality and fidelity towards guests, was unconscious of the fact that the future pages of the Indian history were to be graced by the noble deeds of his refugee's descendants. Had the Baluch chief obeyed the orders of Kāmrān Mirza, then the fame of the Moghul Court, the splendour of their art and architecture in India would have been like a tale told to the Marines. The world would have been deprived of one of its wonders—The Tāj—and India would have remained in the back waters of civilisation for many centuries, henceforward. The episode commences as such: 'One night, after a long march, the barking of a dog was heard. The Emperor (Humayun) had hardly time to observe that some habitants must be at hand, when a party of the Baluch met and stopped them. They spoke in their own language, which was not understood, but fortunately one of the ladies, who was with the Emperor's suite was herself a Baluch, the wife of an officer[1] in his service. She was employed to interpret, and it appeared that they were followers of Malik Khati[2], a Baluch Chief, whom Abul Fazl styled the Captain-General of the banditti of the desert. Their leader being at that moment absent, his people on finding that it was the Emperor, insisted that the little troop should not pass onward without their master's leave. The Emperor was obliged to comply and entering the fort, the free-booters salamed to him respectfully, spread a carpet on which he and Hamida Begum (mother of the Great Moghul Emperor Akbar) sat down and supplied the wants of the party with all the hospitality of the desert. When day began to dawn, as the Emperor was engaged in his morning prayers Malik Khati, who had been sent for, returned. The Emperor's peaceable entrance into the fort, which gave him the character of a guest, had roused the robber's sense of honour. Saluting the Emperor, and making the usual polite enquiries after his health, the Chief informed him, that three days before an order from Kāmrān Mirza had reached him commanding him not, on any account, to suffer the Emperor Humayun to pass that way, but to seize and make him a prisoner. 'But', added he, 'now that your Majesty has visited me, on my head and eyes be it, yet it is better that you should ride on and I will myself conduct you to the borders'.

Ameer 'Abdur Rahmān in the course of his flight after his defeat by Ameer Sher 'Ali, also halted at Chāgai after traversing the Kākar country. "For two days", describes the Ameer, "we were in the utmost straits, but the third day we

1. Hasan 'Ali Aishak Agha had a Baluch wife.

2. Emperor Humāyun bestowed a ruby, a pearl and other costly articles to Malik Khati: (See 'Humāyun Nāmeh' by Gul Badan Begum). this Malik Khati in all probability is Sheh Khati of Chāker's time who was murdered by Bibrak and whose tomb at Nāri Gorge, nearly eight miles from Sibi is revered even today by the Baluchis.

entered Chagai. We were surprised that the Khān of the village would not welcome us, we remained there some time, and after a fortnight a servant came to my uncle with the tidings that the Khān and Mir asked permission to pay their respects to him. I asked why they had not done so before, and was told the reason that all their subjects had gone to the desert to graze their horses. They were now returned, and 500 had collected to salam us. On our acceding to their request, the Khān came out of the fort on foot, with 500 followers behind him in a single line, and preceding him were two dancing boys of nine and twelve, who looked quite unlike human specimens, having no clothing save one small lion cloth, and matted hair which had never seen soap and water. There was one band of music, and this was our grand reception—the preparation for which had taken fifteen days! We stayed at Chāgai twenty-five days, during which time our horses had grown quite fat, having plenty of grass and hays[1]".

The most powerful tribes of the Chāgai are the Rakshānis, Mandais, Zagar Mengals, Muhammad Hasanis[2] and Sanjarānis. Among the Brahuis, Zagar Mengal is the only influential tribe in the Chāgai district and they unanimously claim their pedigree from Zakariyah, one of the sons of Ibrāhim, the progenitor of the Brahuis. During the regime of Khān 'Abdullah Khān they immigrated to Nushki. The Mengals of Nushki call themselves Zaghar or Zaghar Mengals to distinguish themselves from the Jhālāwān Mengals who are known as the Shāhizai. A feeble folk-lore tradition, narrates the ancestors of Mengals to have migrated from Zughd near Samarkand. This was one of the several provinces mentioned in the first chapter of the Venidad: in Zend Sughda and in old Persian Suguda from which the Greek Soghdiana have been derived. In the 17th century the Moghul Emperor, Shāh Jahān, annexed Balkh and held the country up to the Oxus for about two years. 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān, ruler of Samarkand, mustered his fighting contingents and ransacked the country formerly held by the Indian troops. Among the tribes which rallied round the call of the Khān of Samarkand was one named Meng or Ming[3]. In the Baluchi language, plural of substantives and collective nouns are formed, by adding the suffix 'gal' to the noun itself. So that the term 'Mengal' (Meng-gal) merely denotes the Meng (Ming or Men, or Min) tribe. Min is also an ancient Sindi tribe which still retains its distinctive name. The well-known ancient city of Minnāgar in Sind (town of the Mins) appears to have been named after this tribe. The author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (McCrindle's translation) in the first or second century A.D. calls the valley of the Lower Indus known at present as Lower Sind, Scythia and describes it as being under the rule of the Parthian Chiefs whose capital was Minnāgar and the main port of the country was known as Babarikon. But all these derivations do not actually amount to absolute proof.

1. 'The life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan', edited by Mir Munshi, Sultan Muhammad Khān, Secretary of State of Afghanistan, Vol I, pp. 121, 122.
2. The Muhammad Hasnis are now completely Baluchisized, but, in fact, they are the Mamesseni Lurs of Persia occupying the country still known as Shulistān, and extending as far east and southeast as fars and the plain of Kazerun. The etymologists connect the Mamessenis with the Mama-kini of Quintus curtius (lib, vii, Cap. vi), who encountered Alexander near Maracanda (Samarkend) in Bactria. Few scholars asserts them to be the Mammisei of Pliny (Hist. Nat. V. 19), who inhabited the tetrachy of Mammisea in Coele Syria.
3. Bādshah Nāmeh Bibliotheca Indica.

CHAPTER XI

THE COUNTRY OF MAKURAN

The country of Makurān for the major part of its history acted as a bridge between the Indian and the Persian Empires. From the Persian route nearly all the ambitious conquerors, who ever cherished to conquer India, whether successful or unsuccessful, have at least knocked Makurān's door, which often opened with great difficulty by the stroke of a hand which carried a formidable hammer. The Arabs kept their authority little more than two centuries over Makurān and, eventually, the land preserved its distinctive stamp, as yet. No Indian or Pakistani territory to-day, presents similarity to the Arabs in custom more than Makurānis. The Arab domination has left its mark on the ethnography of the country, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that still a strong Arab strain runs through the veins of the Makurān people. Since the conquest of the Arabs, the country remained a great commercial highway and the ruins of thriving towns along its main route, testify its past importance. Marks of citadels and aqueducts stand where today there is nothing but entire ruin. Al-Maqadasi states that there was a large number of towns and villages in the province of Makurān which had its capital at Phanjpur. He further states the names of the flourishing towns i.e. Mashka[1], Mandan, Jalik, Darak, Siraj, Sherbebur, Khawash, Sasht-i-Ali, Tiz, Kibartun, Beh, Basak, Band, Kasarkand, Asfiga, Phalpur, Kanbali, Armail and Kiz. All that remains of the celebrated memory of the ancient or medieval Persian or Arab dynasties today, is perpetuated in the name of few obscure tribes, tottered towns and unused underground water springs. The effort of the Arab conquerors, turned the barren plateau of contemporary Makurān into a verdant herbage, and the country remained for a long time, as a prosperous and rabbled mart where the commerce of the two ends of the globe changed hands; whereas, in the streets of its ancient capital assembled all the colours and shades of the Orient—from the negroes of Zanzibār and Madgāscar to the stalwart Arab of Syria and from the vivacious Persian to the ruddy Afghan, from the uncouth Indian to the Cyclopean Turkoman. Makurān, due to the Arab domination, stepped within the threshold of modern civilisation more earlier than any other part of Baluchistan. No part of Baluchistan possesses more interest from the point of history and ethnography than Makurān. The diversity of climate, vast expanse of deserts spotted with beautiful tracts of cultivated fields, artistic scenes of gorgeous mountains with picturesque ravines and vales, all these combined together favoured the growth of a romantic strain over the heart and mind of the populace, and, finally,

1. Ibn Haukal states that Mashkey was a Muslim state neighbouring Makurān, and the name of the ruler in his time was Mazāhir bin Raja, moreover, the Khutba was read in the name of the Caliph of Baghdād.

made Makurān, the scene of great romances and intellectual activities of the Baluch history. The historic love episode of Punnu and Sassi inspired and thrilled the spiritual fire and frenzy of several saints of Sind and Punjāb. The venerable lover enjoys the role of hero in the mystico-ethical verses of the poet, Shāh 'Abdul Latif, the patron saint of Sind. The enterprizes of the love sick couple became a favourable story to be staged by the Movie producers of the Indian sub-continent. The saint-seeming 'Izzat of Panjgūr fell sweet on with love some Mehruk.Hit with love-shaft, 'Izzat roamed to and fro till his bosom found rest in the bosom of earth. 'Izzat and his beloved can be titled as Romeo and Juliet of the Baluchi romance.

Origin of name

The name of the country had different nomenclatures in historic and medieval ages. It was the Gadrosoi of the Greeks, Makristān of the Pehlevis and Mukrān of the Arabs. It was also known to the ancients under the name of 'Karmania Altera'. To the ethnologists its importance lies in the fact that it has been the cradle of the Baluch race. All the present major tribes derive their names from various streams and places in Persian Makurān.

The name 'Makurān', has been exposed to many controversies. It has an elastic significance and has been discussed by various writers under different derivations, but still it remains unsolved. Sir Thomas Holdich[1], Sir Oliver St. John and Dr. Bellew reflect its origin as a corrupt form of Persian word Māhi Khorān (fish eaters) and confirm their claims by the reason that the Greeks in Alexander's time called the people of the Makurān coast, ichthyophagoi which significes 'fish eaters'. Lord Curzon[2] asserts that it is a Dravidian word and that it appears in 'Brihat Sanhita' of Varohamihira as Mokara, in the list of the tribes inhabiting the western side of India. Major Sykes[3] is of opinion that it is derived from the Sanskirit word Aranya or Irinya (waste or swamp) and insinuates that from Maka irina (the waste of Maka) the word Mekran is derived and vindicates his claim that in Sind the present pronunciation of the land is Makran which is the same as the Sanskirit word 'Maka-irina'. The earliest name of the country appears as the Maka of the Behistun inscription, the Mekia of Herodotus or (the country of the Mykians) which was included in the 14th Satrapy. The same author associates the Mykians with the Parikanians and Utians who were equally well armed as the Paktyans. It was termed by the Stephen of Byzantium as (Maka Μακαρηνη). Marco Polo called it Kesmacoran (i.e. Kej-Makurān); it was the Moses of Chorene and Mukrān of many Arab chroniclers. The country has been addressed by double name, Kej-Makrān, by many writers, for example Ibn Batutah, Sherif-ud-Dīn, etc.

The learned J. J. Modi published an article in 1904, stated that it is a contracted form of Mah Keran, from 'Mah' means a town and 'keran' meaning (sea). Abi 'Ubaidullah Yākūt bin 'Abdullah (1179-1229 A.D.) in his 'Mu'ajūm-ul-Buldān[4]'

1. 'The Indian Borderland', by Sir T. Holdich.
2. Curzon's Persia, 1892, Vol. II, p. 261.
3. 'Ten Thousand Miles in Persia', 1902, by Molesworth Sykes.
4. Volume VIII, p. 130.

completed in 1228 A.D. at Allepo, quoting as authority the renowned Ibn-Athīr, illustrate the following appellation:—Makurān bin Fārak, bin Sām, bin Noah, brother of Kirmān. The name Makurān bears an etymological affinity with the appellation Kirmān. The words Kirmān and Makurān seem to be the branches of the same tree. Yākūt further contends:

مکران جمع مکر مثل وغدو وغدان وبطن وبطنان۔

The entire Makurān is marked with savage inaccessible rock-mountains, grim deserts, alternating with beautiful strips of verdure along the water courses. Most of the Arab generals appointed to the governorship of Makurān considered themselves to be in limbo. What can be more expected about the dreadful nature of the physical aspects of Makurān which even shrivelled the heart of the medieval Arabs whose valour and tenacity was a rallying-cry among the nations of east and west. As such al'Ashi Hamdāni versed:

وأنت تسير الى مكران۔ فقط شحطالورد والمصور
ولم تک حاجتی مکران۔ ولاالغزؤ فیهاولاالمتجر
وحدثت عنهاولم آتها ۔ فما زلت من ذ کرهاأخر
بان الكثير بهاجائع ۔ وأنلقليل بهاصعور ۱

"You are going to Mukrān, how many stages it lies from your place? I cannot sustain the brunt of Mukrān, there lieth neither war nor trade, I was asked about it but I refused, I do not want to hear any thing about it, the condition of that place is, that if population be increased than they will die of hunger, if decreased they perish[1]".

Corresponding to the description of Colonel Holdich, Mr. Thornton remarks Makurān as a land of 'Myrrh and Spikenard'. "Nothing can be more hideous", remarks Mac Donald, "than Makran in the day-time, nothing can be more glorious than its colouring in the morning and the evening'.

Mac Gregor writes: "To give an idea of the physical nature of Makran, I should say, take one of these big brown stones one sees all over Baluchistan, which, looking as if they had just come out of fire, very aptly represent Makran, and just place a few specks of green on it and the picture is complete. The people are very wretched lot, very dirty, very greedy, and very uninteresting'. The famous historian Yaf'ai states: "From the territory of Kirmān to the land of Sind and Omman, and between them, is a country which they call Mukrān. It has several cities, and one is the city of Mukrān (that is Kich, the chief city of the Mukrān country, just as Sri-Nagar of Kashmir is called the city of Kashmir), another Tiz, and another Howash". The country tremendously retrograded in agriculture, and the science of cultivation among the people is a matter of secondary importance. Comparing the revenue of the country with that of medieval time, there is apparently a great difference. Ahmad 'Alī Khān, the historian, mentions that in the reign of Tughrul Shāh the duty in Makurān was 30,000 dinars. This was the net income of Makurān derived solely

1. Al-Belādhuri, Futuh-ul-Buldān, p. 434.

from land apart from numerous other sources of income which he has not mentioned. The present Makurān is on the way to progress. We hear an interesting description of the people of ancient Makurān from Arrian, the Greek historian. Arrian proceeds: "These people are called ichthyophagoi, because they live on fish. The tenderest of them they eat raw as soon as they draw them out of the water. But they dry the larger and harder ones in the sun, and when they are thoroughly baked, they grind them down and make meal of them and loaves. Others bake cakes from this meal. Their cattle also live on dried fish, for the country is destitute of meadows, and does not produce grass. The whole diet of the people consist of fish. Few of them sow any corn, for they use fish instead of bread. The most prosperous of them collect the bones of the whales cast up by the sea and use this instead of timber for their houses; the broad bones which they find, they make into doors. The majority who are poor, make their houses of the backbones of fish[1]".

Marco Polo's travel through the country in the end of thirteenth century adds something to our information about the contemporary Makurān. "Some of the people are idolators", he remarks, "but the most part are saracens. They live by merchandise and industry, for they are professed traders and carry on much traffic by sea and land in all directions. Their food is rice and corn, flesh and milk, of which they have a great store[2]".

The history of the land has been briefly dealt with in the previous chapters. The ancient history of Baluchistan corresponds with the ancient history of Makurān which figures so prominently in ancient accounts. The fate of Makurān has been allied with that of Kirmān whose history has been one of constant vicissitudes since the dawn of history, as a result of which, her conquerors always aimed their greedy looks on the spoils of Makurān. What happened to Kirmān today, Makurān received its reaction on the next day.

Local dynasties

The Rind supremacy over Makurān in the early quarters of sixteenth century was superseded by another Baluch tribe—the Hots[3], whose short lived glory soon gave way to the domination of the Maliks of Seistān. The most famous and distinguished Malik rulers of Makurān were Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn and Malik Kuchko. The last ruler of the Malik dynasty as stated before was defeated and taken into chains by Ganj 'Alī Khān of Kirmān[4]. Another powerful tribe of the Baluchis, the Buledeys, gained power at a time when all the glory of the Maliks of Seistān surrendered to subversion. Dissension and decay among the Malik chiefs afforded and offered great opportunity to the Buledeys who extended their power over the whole of Makurān within a short time. The Maliks were ousted by the Buledeys in the latter part of the 17th century and the country remained divided into many sundry chiefs. The corroborative evidence of the domination of Buledeys over Makurān can be identified by few inscriptions on certain tombs in the Kej valley. Colonel Ross mentions in

1. McCrindle's Ancient India.
2. Travels of Marco Polo, translated by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, vol. II, p. 401.
3. Holdich and Mockler ascribe a more ancient origin to Hots. The former identifies them with the Oraitai of Alexander's time and the latter with the Utii of the army of Exerxes.
4. 'Ten Thousand miles in Persia', by M. P. Molesworth Sykes.

his journal, that he came across a grave, on its tombstone there was engraved—in 1142 A.H. (1729-30 A.D.) 'In the badshahi (reign) of Sheh Bilār[1]'. This Sheh Bilār was undoubtedly the uncle of Sheh Qāsim, the Buledey.

The Gichkis

In the local list of the Buledey rulers, Sheh Zehri is shown as the nominal ruler of Makurān in the middle of the seventeenth century. Sheh Qāsim was the last ruler of the family, when after his death, the principality of Kej fell into the hands of Gichkis who are believed to be of Rājput extraction. In the beginning of the 18th century, the Gichkis appeared in the fore-front of the Makurān affairs after slowly undermining the Buledey domination whose prestige was universally on the decline. The Gichkis trace their pedigree to a man, named Mār Singh, fabled to have come from Rājputana via Sind and Las-Bela. It is noteworthy to state that Aurangzeb while visiting Makurān, wrote to his father Emperor Shāh Jahān about the submission of a landlord of Panjgūr named Mān Singh who was related to J'afar Nuhmri[2]. The present chief is locally traditioned to be seventeenth according to the lineal succession traced from the first ancestor. Some hold Gichkis to be the descendants of a Sikh chieftain of Lahore—Panna Singh, who is said to have settled in the Gichk valley, in Panjgūr district, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. An interesting story about the origin of Gichkis has been edited by Mr. Enthoven of Bombay ethnographical survey. The story was obtained from an old manuscript in the possession of the State barot of Nāvānagar State (Kathiawār). The story runs, that a Baluch prince Nazar Muhammad, had one child named Kamāl Khān. By the instigation of his relatives and courtiers, he killed his son and thereby finding no issue from his direct lineage, avoided succession of the throne to his relatives; he sent his emissaries to find a man worthy of being a prince to succeed him. His emissaries landed at Karanga, a port of Okhamandal in Baroda State. They kidnapped Samatji son of Sadalji, the ruler, on Friday, Magsur Sud 13th Samvat 1614 (1558 A.D.). This Samatji on his mother's side was closely related to Arambhda Vadhe branch of the Rājputs of Jodhpur. Nazar Muhammad gave his daughter Dalebu (دلیبو) in marriage to Samatji and after his death, the young prince succeeded to the Makurānate throne. The manuscript, thus, states that the Gichkis are his descendants. The Gichkis were previously idol worshippers, gradually converted to Islam three generations after their arrival, but the form of Islam they accepted was more nearer to their previous faith. In the beginning they bargained Hinduism still for a worst faith, Zikrism[3], whose followers had Qurān on their mouth but devil in their heart, feared God but loved devil.

In 1740 A.D. the Gichkis gained tremendous power in Makurān and their ever-growing influence betrayed a great danger to the Persian prestige on the border area. Nādir Shāh determined to hamper the Gichki ambition beyond their own territory. He despatched his general, Taki Khān, who utterly routed the coastal region

1. Ross's Memorandum of Makuran, p. 35.
2. "Ruqaat-e-Alamgir", Vol. I, p. 2, edited by Syed Najib Ashraf.
3. Zikrism owes its existence through its founder, the feigned al-Mahdi of the fifteenth century, Syed Muhammad, of Danpur in Jaunpur who was expelled from India and came to Kandahār and Seistān. For details see the two manuscripts 'Safar Nāmeh' and 'Tardid Mohdawiyat.'

of Makurān besides other important towns, and, thus, impaired for a time the Gichki ambition. After the conquest of Makurān by Naseer I of Kalāt, the country remained for two centuries as a trustworthy province of the Kalāt dominion until its accession to Pakistan in 1948, in the capacity of a separate state.

The hereditary passion for hardihood combined with inordinate addiction to luxury, patent to Rājputs, ever found a willing victim too in their whole blood—the Gichki chiefs of Makurān. Secluded in the harem and prone to engouement for pleasure, the majority of the Gichki chiefs maintained a host of slaves—the Nakibs, in case of whom darkness was and is the dominating hue of the external man both in dress and complexion. Black are their face, black their dress, usually paint black their teeth with a permanent dye, even like black animals and to crown their speciality, they are black in deeds. Their refined manners, to a great extent cover a truly grand faculty for deceit and debauchery.

CHAPTER XII

THE TRIBAL TERRITORY

The tribal territory is a belt of land stretching from the extreme Derājāt mountains upto the Jacobābād border. The famous tribes inhabiting this *terra incognita* are the Bozdār, Leghāri, Drishak, Gurchāni, Lund, Mazāri, Khetrān, Marri and the Bugti. Some of the above tribes have left their mountain abodes permanently and settled in the Derājāt plains i.e. Drishak, Gurchāni and Lund. For over a century these veritable mountaineers had been the rampart of the Khānate government against the invaders from east. Nevertheless, riotous in their character, they never hesitated at the time of call, to set their horses together and smote hip and thigh of the neighbouring Kalāt territories. Hard countries breed hard men. Since ages, we hear of this mountain territory as a wild and inaccessible region, inhabited by formidable tribes. Incessant Inter-tribal feuds and economic depression converted this area into a howling wilderness over which the eye may traverse unarrested for miles. Accustomed only to one profession, hit-and-run raid, they never vied to rule or organize their territories.

Prior to the establishment of British authority the eastern tribal group enjoyed independence. The Khānate Government claimed the allegiance of these tribes, but ever failed to establish it. In the middle of the nineteenth century, through the shirt-sleeves diplomacy of the British instrument of 'forward policy' all the tribes were annexed to Punjab, with Derā Ghāzi Khān as the centre save the Marri, Bugti and Khetrān tribes. The severance of the Derājāt tribes from Baluchistan proper left the Baluch race like a ship without a helm, and the once impregnable Kalāt citadel, henceforth, remained without its iron glacis. All the mighty conquerors of history have recognised the worth of employing the military population of their conquests. The fidelity of the conquered can be purchased at the outset by severing them from their old associations. When Hannibal intended to invade Italy, Carthage streamed her Africans into Spain, and defended Africa with Spaniards. The British in their conquest of India often employed the indigenous tribes, for example, the Bhil corps in Khandesh, the Mair corps, the Sylhet local Infantry, and several others.

In a similar way the Eastern group of Baluchis was subdued not by the British guns but by the employment of some of the indigenous chiefs who set their shoulders to the British war wheel. The Leghāri and Mazāri chiefs employed as the worthy agents of the conquering British legions, succeeded in creating a mortal wound on the body-politic of the tribal territory. The former served as a 'middle man[1]' to subdue the arrogance of the Mazāri chief, who thoroughly disoriented, proved

1. 'The forward policy and its results' by R. I. Brice, C.I.E., p. 15.

later on as the chief instrument to the end of the chapter, to seal the fate of the Bugti tribe. Working as 'go between[1]', the then Mazāri chief, Imām Bakhsh Khān, (afterwards Nawāb and Sir) by his honeyed speech, brought the contemporary Bugti chief, to Rājanpur only to offer the latter's fidelity to Robert Sandeman.

We now deal here the people of the present tribal area. Brigandage and savagery among the Marri and Bugti are endemic. The history of both the tribes glitter with heroism and honour. Before the British conquest of Baluchistan, they carried out an indiscriminate system of plunder all along the border, executing numerous raids and murders on the upper Sind, Kachhi and Derā Ghāzi Khān district. Successive wars and constant tribal feuds brought out there quiescent capacities and their swords stamped their name deep in the annals of the tribal territory. The tribes of this region are reputed to be warlike, and have often shown their mettle to the British and Khānate Governments on questions of boundary demarcation. Neither the clash of the steel of a conqueror nor the bragging horror of the wilful whip of an administrator ever proved successful to cow their courage and tenacity.

Corresponding with the nature of the land, the tribes of the tribal territory fall into two groups, nomadic and settled folk. A thorough glimpse on the pages of Baluchistan history substantiates the claim that for the integrity of Baluch race, the eastern group i.e. the tribal territory always functioned as its body and the western group served as the brain. The former are brave but brainless, while, the latter sober but sagacious. The composition of the tribes of Marri and Bugti is a conglomeration of different races. Many groups of diverse origin, including Pathān and Jat (Indian) gathered together with these tribes in time of emergency, and, ultimately, were moulded into one tribe. The new comers in due course of time became perpetual participators in the fortune or misfortune of the original tribe, and thus, were given a vested interest by acquiring a portion of the tribal land, in return for which, they were bound to share all tribal responsibilities. The Lānghāni section of the Marris, for instance, are branched off from an Indian stock. They are connected with Langha tribe of Multan who settled and ruled once the neighbouring parts of Sibi. Similarly the Shaheja section claim affinity to the Shahejas of India.

The chiefship of both the tribes is of recent origin[2]. We, never hear, the name of the above two tribes during Chākarian era which is truly supposed to be the 'Golden Age' of the Baluch race.

The early history of the Marri tribe is obscure. They drove out the Kupchānis and Hasanis before they occupied the land. It is one of the biggest tribes in Baluchistan and are found in Sind too. Like so many Baluch tribes who have, hitherto, not left their original homeland, Arabia, the Marris inhabit the al-Hissā province of Saudi Arabia and are known their as Marrah or Marri. It is worthy of note that in the mountain region of Lebānon, we hear of a tribe known as Balus (Baluch).

1. 'The forward policy and its results', by R. I. Bruce, pp. 25,26.

2. See the genealogical table of Marri and Bugti chief, "Baluchistan district Gazetteer, Vol. III, Sibi District", pp. 381, 385.

A Marri in appearance is generally a fine, tall, and an atheletic highlander, whose springy steps, when traversing the paved streets of Quetta or Sibi, denote fairly his mountain origin. He is innocent of the debaucheries of the city Baluch and is far free from the restraints of the civilized society, *montani semper liberi*. His appearance and equipments are much in his favour, manifesting the simplicity of manners, bravery and hardihood. Generally he is slim but singularly muscular with gaunt and blowzed face, aquiline nose, long curly hair hanging loosely on the back, carelessly dressed in white raglan smock-frock (Kurti) reaching to the heels. Almost every man carries either a rifle or a stiletto. Robbery, ruthless murder and merciless revenge to a Marri is the salt of life. He likes fighting, and he likes to settle the issue hand to hand. He is as good as his word, and he is ready to support his word with a blow. He considers the exaction of blood for blood as the foremost duty of man. He is a moon's man both by tradition and profession, and is apt to say, "God will not favour a Marri who does not steel and rob". His sword is upon every man's neck and every body's sword is unsheathed against him. He is trained ever to meet a powerful foe, at the same time, realize suitable time when courage must be placed for cunning. The history of the tribe before the British advent thrills with enchanting events of their marauding gangs. Whatever dynasty ruled Baluchistan, the history of Marris has ever been a record of broken faith. Brought up from their childhood amid scenes of appalling fights and severe hardships, nothing can ever change them from their pre-occupations.

Characteristics of the Marris

Before the intervention of the British into Baluchistan affairs, the Kalāti realm, notwithstanding, the Marris nominal allegiance to the Khān, was not safe from their inroads. The chief winked at raids and great robberies by the hill portion of his tribe. After the final subjugation of Sind by the British, the independence of the border Baluch tribes coterminus with upper Sind district, seemed like the flicker of a dying flame. Much political discussion and different opinions were held about the future relation with this tribe. On October 7, 1853, Lord Dalhousie, wrote to Colonel Outram that "... With regard to the Murrees, I can't see the reason of attacking them because they have attacked other people, or the justice of attacking them when they have not attacked us ..." In 1867 Sir Robert Sandeman (then Captain), the Deputy Commissioner of Derā Ghāzi Khān, finding himself at a dead lift reported to the Sind authorities to control the hill tribes (Marri and Bugti) with the help of the Khān of Kalāt. Sir Henry Green the then Political Superintendent, Upper Sind gave the following reply:—

Marauding Propensity

"With regard to the raid, the Marris being Baluchis, are certainly nominally subject to the Khan of Kalat, and are held by him under the same control as the Afridis of the hills surrounding the Peshawar valley are by the ruler of Kabul. Any complaint to the Khan of Kalat would be about of as much use as the Commissioner of Peshawar's bringing to the notice of the Amir the conduct of the said Afridis".

So long as the Marris nominally submitted to the Khānate sovereignty, they enjoyed a *carte blanche* to rob, murder and ravish the neighbouring Sind districts. However, in June 1839, to make a dead set at the Marris, John Jacob was given the

command of the picked troops which Sir John Keen left at Upper Sind on his return from Kandahār. The expedition proved a failure with all its grave consequences. A little later, Major J. R. Billamore equipped with a strong army appeared at the scene, but after temporary success left the Marri highlands in February 1840. In the April of the same year, Captain Brown and Lt. Clarke renewed the attack on the Marri territory but met with heavy losses of men and material. On the 12th August of the same year, Major Clibborn at the command of 464 bayonets, two hundred sabres, a detail of 34 gunners, three twelve pounder howitzers, along with 12,000 camels and 600 bullocks loaded with ammunition and ration led the attack on the Marris. After a murderous fight, the British forces suffered a great set back and the officer in command agreed to the terms forwarded by the Marri chief, Dodā Khān. A British account thus relates the grave mishap that over-took this expedition. "... The spahis fell fast, the officer who led was badly wounded; still he pressed on. When the detachment was little more than half way up, down rushed the Marris with the fury of a mountain torrent and swept all before them. Every officer of the storming party was killed but one. The victorious Baluchi, with this mode of attack, was more formidable than it is possible to express. One most distinguished chief of the Marris thrust his shield against the mouth of a gun as it was about to be fired and was blown away from it. Other seized the muscats of the spahis and threw themselves on the bayonets. They fought like mad men or wild beasts. And so great was the peril of our troops that Major Clibborn wrote that "nothing but a fortunate discharge of grapes saved the regiment at the last moment from complete destruction". Thus one by one, all the heroes of the British expeditions were hoisted with their own petard.

In April 1853, again the irrepressible Marris committed numerous raids and other heinous offences on the frontier districts of Derā Ghāzi Khān and upper Sind. Jacob thus wrote of them on April 16, 1853.

"It is certain that these Marris are the worst enemies of the Khan of Khelat; that they have for many years past laid waste the best part of this country, and plundered the whole province of Kachhi. For many years past the Khan repeatedly and urgently begged for assistance from the British Government to enable him to reduce this rebellious tribe, and put a stop to its predatory inroads. Without assistance from us it is totally out of his power to control these robbers, as he has so often represented, and it is useless to call upon him to do so.

"The British territory has already been violated by the Marris in the instance of the attack on Kasmor in April, 1853; while in innumerable instances, mentioned in my former letters, the Marris have assembled in arms for hostile purposes near the British Borders, and on all these occasions have only been prevented invading the British territory by finding the troops on the frontier moving against them; all is disorder, rapine, and plunder on the Kachi side of the desert.

"One of the greatest obstacles now existing to the establishment of an extensive and most valuable trade between Central Asia and the sea is the total want of protection for life and property on the journey through the Bolan and the plain of Kachi. No goods can be brought through that country save by the traders congregated in considerable numbers for mutual protection, and hiring parties of armed men to protect them. Even then they are not safe, for the Marris plunder in strong parties

that they hestitate not to attack the largest kafilas, frequently over-powering the guards, and not seldom murdering as well as robbing the merchants. The weak and disreputable state of the Khelat Government, also, as shown by its total inability to crush these robbers, enables all manner of petty marauders to raid with impunity, and enables every contemptible chief of a village to demand and extort dues of which not a farthing reaches the coffers of the state.

"These appear to me to be some of the evils caused by allowing the Marris to plunder at their will with impunity. It is certain also that these mountaineers think that the British Government is afraid of them. This was the case, as I informed Sir Charles Napier at Polaji in 1845, when the Marri vakils were with him, and the belief has certainly not since been removed[1]."..

However, the general unrest among the people compelled the Kalāt authorities to reduce to obedience and order the insurgents. In 1859, the ruler of Kalāt, Khudādād Khān with a force of 400 foot and 4,000 infantry accompanied by the British force under Sir Henry Green successor of General Jacob, attacked Kāhān. The Marris abandoned their headquarter and swarmed up the steep ascents save few, who made only a halfhearted stand against the formidable assault. The combined forces instantly forced an extremely rapid fire upon the exposed capital, and within a little duration of fight, it looked like a desolate place, complete silence reigned the streets. The Marri highland was, thus, cowed into temporary submission by the iron hand of Khudādād Khān. After a few days, the victorious forces left the vanquished country and the Marris promised to act in future as peaceful neighbours. After an idle rest of twenty-one years, again unexpectedly on the 6th of August 1880, a gang of Marri rapines attacked a convoy near Kuchāli, extorting a booty of Rs. 1,25,000 besides slaughtering forty-two men. In September 1880, a force under General MacGragor was despatched to Kāhān via Harnāi. On the approach of the British force, the then Chief, Mehrulla Khān, consented to pay back all that was looted with an extra fine imposed upon the leader of the raid who surrendered himself after few days, to a general pardon. In 1889 the title of Nawāb was conferred on Mehrulla Khān. About Kuchāli raid, we quote Sir Robert Sandeman: "The son of Sardar Mehrulla Khan, Khair Baksh Khan was also in the immediate neighbourhood, but he appears to have taken no part in the raid and immediately reported its occurrence to me. He is said to have communicated the news to his father in a characteristic manner, having sent to him a piece of paper smeared black on both sides, with the remark that the tribesmen have thus blackened the faces both of himself and of his father."

Nawāb Khair Bakhsh Khān and the Marri war of independence

Immediately, after the Kuchāli raid, on the 15th March 1902, Mehrulla Khān sought refuge in the bowl of earth and his son Khair Bakhsh Khān became Tumandār or Chief of the Tribe. In the first Great World War, the British authorities in Baluchistan ordered for a conscription from the powerful tribes of the country. All the big tribes namely Kākar, Bugti Khetrān, and Tarīn, etc. waited impatiently for the decision of Marris regarding the most undesirable demand of the Government. The Marris perplexed between two

1. 'The forward policy . . .', by Bruce, pp. 20, 21.

fires, held under their chief, a meeting at Kāhān and all unanimously refused to help the British and prepared to get best out of the worst occasion. Khair Bakhsh Khān told the Kākar, Bugti and Khetrān Chiefs: "I have tried my best to come to a fair and peaceful settlement with the tribesmen, but of no avail; negotiations have broken up with the Government. It is better now to die in our own land for our country's sake, than to die on the battlefields of Europe, unnoticed and unregretted. We are not prepared to seek filthy lucre. Let us, therefore, put an all-out effort to win an all-out war". The Marris unclasped the purple leaves of war and carried terror and havoc in the neighbouring villages, before the ultimatum reached the Imperial quarters. Panic and destruction seized the Sibi territory from all quarters. The village of Talli and Hāmbi were devastated to the ninth degree. The treasury of the Kohlu tehsil was pillaged to the last penny. The imperial forces consisting of twenty five thousand men commanded by General Hardy besieged the Marri territory from all sides. At the Gumbaz fort the insurgents attacked the British garrison, but were repulsed with heavy losses. One hundred and twenty men sacrificed themselves into the sling of destruction and lay dead like slaughtered fish. The siege with sad reverses lasted for three months. Attacks met counter attacks. Three months of war completely exhausted the entire tribe on various fronts. The end found the Marris defeated and to use the memorable words of Francis I of France '*Tout est Perdu hors l' honneur*' sent to his mother after his defeat at Pavia in 1525 A. D., the Marri chief too saved his honour in agreeing to an armistice through the mediation of an able civil officer, Meer Muhammad Ibrāhim Khān (afterwards Khān Bahādur), of the Gishkauri tribe.

The Bugtis

The Bugtis are Baluch of the purest dew. The nucleus of the Bugtis traces their origin to Bug, both a place and a river in Persian Baluchistan as is the case with many other Baluch tribes such as Dombki and Magasi, etc. Some of the Bugti clans are of foreign stock. The Masori and Maretha (Marhatta) clans are purely of Indian origin. It is certain on the other hand that the whole Marri and Bugti highland was once in possession of the Indian tribes before the settlement of the Baluch race. The name of some of the clans such as Shaheja and Lānghāni among the Marris; Raheja amidst Bugtis, and Haripāl, Sūri, Kākar and Indhar among the Pathan tribes show affinity with the present Indian tribes of practically similar names i. e. Shahuja, Rahuja, Langah, Sūri, Kākar, Haripāl and Indhar[1].

Main features

The Bugtis are brave and simple like the Marris. Both the tribes have common virtues and vices peculiar to a semi-civilized life. The Bugtis find glory in plunder and are decidedly adroit robbers; even caravans of the Mecca-bound pilgrims are not safe from their 'chapau' marauding parties. Hospitality is first of all virtues to a Bugti. At the same time unparalleled virtues of character are balanced in them by hideous vices. The Bugtis not unlike their neighbours, the Marris, were accustomed since long to test their plundering propensities in devastating the neighbouring territories of upper Sind and Kalāt state. "Like the Marris", states Sir Lepel about the Bugtis, "this

1. See 'The Encyclopaedia of Islam', p. 631, where Shaheja, Ahuja and Haripal are mentioned.

was a tribe absolutely devoted to robbery. Their allegiance to the Khan of Khelat was, like that of the Marris, nominal, and the greater portion of their robberies and raids were committed in Khelat territory. With the Marris they have been continuously at war, only uniting with them to commit raids on the lands of their neighbours".

During the middle of the ninteenth century the then Bugti chief fused the tribe into an aggressive force of formidable character, and led his cohorts with unslacked ferocity on several occasions on the British territory in Sind. Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sind, and General John Jacob's forces on various fields were put to hard test. The Sind authorities, to ward off the Bugti intrusion into the land, issued the following proclamation on 6th August 1846: "Know all men living in the British territories of Sind, that it has become necessary to make arrangements for keeping off the Bugtis and other mountain robbers, and putting a stop to their robberies. Therefore, it is hereby ordered, that who ever will seize any of the Bugti mountaineers, and deliver him to the British horse-men, shall receive a reward of Rs. 10 for each man of the mountaineers so seized and delivered up[1]".

1. "Frontier and overseas expedition from India", Vol. III, p. 89.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SIND BALUCHIS

During the 12th century the Baluchis stepped into the boundaries of Sind as curious wanderers, the 13th and 14th centuries honoured them as devoted soldiers; in the 15th and 16th centuries, bound by an oath of fidelity and military service, they were employed both by the domestic and alien tyrants in their mercenary forces; the 17th century tempted them as veritable depredators, the 18th century branded them as outlaws, and the 19th century hailed them as ruler of Sind, but the purple was most dearly purchased, and not dearly lost. In the middle of the same century, they were ousted by the Imperial power, who eradicated what yet remained of their withered roots. The present century allured these seasoned warriors, once the terror of Sind, to live as peaceful ploughmen.

The final act in the great migratory drama of the Baluchis towards the fertile Indus opens with the British conquest of Sind. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the brilliant and meteoric glory of the Tālpur Meers came to an end and fell prostrated to the mercy of the British conquerors. Sind under the Tālpur rule functioned as a buffer state for the Khānate Government against any aggressors from her eastern side and her fall, eventually, parcelled out the Baluch hegemony wherever it lingered on. Their alarming defeat gave opportunity to various Baluch tribes to choose their own chieftains. The ruling caste had already been degenerated and were lashed throughout the realm like the pre-Egyptian Sultans, but their feigned hegemony still rested on multitudes of Baluch horsemen, covetous of brigandage and dauntless of death, who were commanded by indomitable and warlike Mayers of the palaces. Once the hegemony was lost, deadly feuds burst out. To mark the upshot, anarchy became the ruling passion of the nobles, booty and plunder an act of virtue, setting and upsetting of families their main hobby. This general anarchy dissolved steadily the last hope of revival. Each strove hard to share in the booty which prevailed for a considerable time in the upper Sind district. At the spur of the moment, British expeditions at the cost of inconceivable suffering and tremendous losses were despatched to quell the anarchy. But all these efforts proved ineffectual and the British Statesmen in-charge of the critical situation resorted to means, other than war, to subside the general infraction and depredation throughout the conquered land which was repellant to foreign cupidity. Nothing succeeded to serve the turn save by greasing the palm of several intransigent chiefs, who were also granted lands in Lārkana and Jacobābād districts whereby a great number of tribesmen incited by the lavish grant of gifts irrespective of any due merits migrated from their hills. The new government also continued concessions originally granted to the tribes by their predecessors. The Dombki colonization in Jacobābād is the outcome of the British policy. The chiefship

of the Chāndiyas is the child of the British conquest of Sind. Two third of the present population of Sind consists of Baluchis. The strong tribal cohesion current among tribes other than Baluchis in Sind is due to the coherence of the latter with the former. What American colonization was to the Europeans in the beginning of 18th century, Sind even now conveniently accommodates the Baluchis until its final occupation is determined once more. The Indus valley has many temptations for an ordinary Baluch. It is a reservoir of inexhaustible wealth, and a source of tremendous political strength to the Baluchis. The Egyptians draw their wealth from Nile, and the Baluchis from Indus. The majority of the Baluchis consider Sind as the eye of Hind and hence the common Baluch adage: "He who has seen Sind, has seen the whole world and he who has conquered Sind has conquered the Baluchis". Her supposed flourishing gardens, fabulous wealth, the water of the Indus compared to a shining stream of liquid silver are the exhilarating ambition of the artless mountain Baluch to visit the land.

Characteristic Features

The upper Sind Baluchis speak Baluchi with only dialectal differences. Baluchi language among the Baluchis of lower Sind is the language as well as the speech of cultured society, and to a limited extent, of ordinary parlance. The middle class Baluch, occasionally, prefer to speak in Sindi instead of his mother tongue deeming it a spark of modernism, as is the case with the average educated persons of Indian sub-continent who feel proud in speaking English among themselves though they can do without it. The Sind Baluchis have passed from the stage of nomadism to quasi-urbanity. Tent life has been bid farewell and replaced by mud huts. Graziers of cattle, have become the ploughmen. Manual labour in the fields is pleasant to them as a whole, and thus, lead an agricultural life rather than pastoral. Consequently, they can brave an act of robbery but cannot bear an inter-tribal war. Though they quarrel amongst themselves, yet the use of tongue is more frequent than the use of shot. They are land-pirates, extortion, and all other feats belonging unto valiance and vehemence are the purpose of their life. The genuine Baluch have been swamped here in the true Sindian type. The signs of disintegration are pathetically marked off both in their language and custom which seem to be gradually dissolving in the Sindian mould of culture. A Sindi Baluch takes care about the growth of his beard and hair with as much anxiety as he takes about the growth of his crops. Hospitality is deemed as a virtue and game of plunder a fashion. From his childhood, he is trained to the saddle, in his youth he becomes a rough rider, a fine shot with rifle or shot-gun, and in the declining years, he introduces himself to luxury in place of laborious arts. Such is their character which is imbued with qualities midway between the people of the hills and plains.

The most distinguished tribes among the Sind Baluchis are the Dombkis[1], Buledeys, Chāndiyās, Khosās, Jatoi and Nizāmāni, etc.

The Dombkis under their leader Bijār scourged and impoverished the Sind territories continuously for two decades. He was assisted in his awful designs by his

1. The headquarter of the tribe is in Kalāt State (Baluchistan). The tribe is dealt with the Sind Baluchis because major part of the tribe resides in Sind province.

counterpart, Turk 'Ali of Jakhrāni tribe. Bijār knew no mercy and before his savagism, a human head carried no more value than a terra-cotta. The undisciplined nature of this Baluch Tiberius knew only one discipline, that of power. His sword had been immersed more often with fervent zeal into the human blood than of a scholar's pen would dip into ink. During the middle of the nineteenth century, he practically became the nightmare of Sind. The then British authorities offered him the title of Nawābship with a pension of three thousand rupees monthly coupled with an extensive Jāgir, but, we are told, he refused all, saying, 'that a hungry lion is well accommodated in the forest than a fox walled within a palace". His able lieutenant, Turk 'Ali, in all his disposition was a worthy scion of the past glorious Rinds. His men on one occasion rifled near Jacobābād Lord Keen's army en route to Kandahār. The robbers carried away the camels with appalling dexterity and the way they disposed off, is still interesting as described by Eastwick. "As I rode on to Shikarpur I had with me a guard of Jakhranis, Turk Ali's man. They did not know that, I understood them, and were talking and laughing with one another, about the way in which they had plundered Lord Keen's army. "After all", said one of them, "the faringis are liberal fellows, they buy of you today the camels you stole from them yesterday, what customers can be better than these[1] ?"

1. "Dry leaves from Young Egypt", by Eastwick.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DERAJAT BALUCHIS

History

The Baluchis, as we know, entered the political boundaries of Punjab, about three quarters of a century before the invasion of India by Bābur. About the year 1451 A.D., we hear of the ruler of Multan, Sultan Shāh Hussain granting land across Indus to Sohrāb Dodāi, in return of his pacifying the Derajāt country. The history of the Derajāt is closely connected with the fate and fortune of Punjab and Baluchistan. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the bulk of the Baluchis, migrated from Baluchistan and settled permanently in the Derajāt. In 1586 A. D. according to 'Akbar Nāmeh' while Emperor Akbar was at Attock, the Baluch Chiefs Ghāzi Khān, Bahār Khān, Nusrat Khān, Ibrāhīm, and others, after some hostilities, paid their homage to the Emperor. We see, later on, the Derajāt tribes paying lip homage to the various succeeding Moghul rulers. In spite of the conciliatory policy of the Moghuls, these valiant warriors proved a constant menace to the governing head and never reconciled with the camp and court of their suzerains who had to lose much in pacifying this region than to gain anything of substantial good. The pacification of this region was reckoned as a military achievement of no mean order on the part of the reigning Emperor, and the General, who successfully conducted the expedition stood in the front rank of Moghul commanders. Of the various expeditions, the last was despatched on the first of Ramdhān, 1117 A.H. (December 1705 A.D.) under Prince Muhammad M'uiz-ud-Dīn, who in consideration of his invaluable services in the reduction of the Derajāt territory held by Ghāzi Khān Dodāi, received a robe of honour, an elephant, and a horse, as esteemed rewards from the Emperor, his grand father[1].

In December, 1739 A.D. (1152 A.H.) Nādir Shāh left Kabul and proceeding by the Bangash route, reached Dera 'Ism'ail Khān on the 5th of the following month, where 'Ism'ail Khān, the Hot Chief, offered his loyalty to the conqueror. On the 15th, he reached Dera Ghāzi Khān where Nawāb Ghāzi Khān Baluch, the Marlāni Chief, paid a tribute of fidelity to the conqueror who confirmed their respective fiefs under the same terms as they held previously under the Delhi Government. The Derajāt territory in addition to other provinces were ceded by the Delhi Emperor to Nādir Shāh by the treaty of 29th Safar 1152 A.H. (26th May, 1739)[2].

In 1708, the Ghilzai power of Afghanistan became paramount in Baluchistan and a few generations later, its autocratic tree at Kandahār was rudely severed from its root, only to be followed by a more despotic dynasty of the same blood.

1. See Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri.
2. See 'Nādir Nāmeh'.

From its ruin, in the middle of the same century arose the Durrāni dynasty which without a rival encroached upon the Baluch territories. Thenceforward, until 1879, the north-eastern portion yielded nominally to the suzerainty of the Kandahār overlords and the south-western portions were wielded by the Kalāti sword. In 1733 A.D. when Shāh Hussain Ghilzai ruler of Kandahār invaded Shāl (Quetta) and Kalāt, some of his forces during this expedition trespassed on the territory then held by Ghāzi Khān, Marlāni Baluch. The Marlāni Baluchis harassed the Afghan army upon which the Ghilzai despot sent orders to storm Dera Ghāzi Khān which was, accordingly, stormed and delivered up to sack by the barbarous enemy.

Several other Baluch tribes held together and held their own in the Derajāt territory before the present 'Tumāns' attained prominence in the political affairs of the 19th century. The author of 'Sair-ul-Bilād' states that in his time, the territory extending from Pahārpur to Dājjal housed nearly 100,000 Baluch families about 500,000 people or more. He continues that the Marlāni is a powerful Baluch tribe who since long were the rulers of Derajāt territory. The existence of the town of Dera Ghāzi Khān is attributed by the author to Nawāb Ghāzi Khān, Marlāni[1], and that of Dera 'Ism'ail Khān and Dera Fateh Khān to the twin sons of Sohrāb Khān Dodāi', Isma'il Khān and Fateh Khān. During the early decades of the rule of Durrāni sovereigns of Afghanistan the territory from Mangrothah and Layyah as far as Dājjal and Sitpur were ruled by Marlāni chief, whose vast profusion to the factious tribesmen proved a great success. We are told by the same author, that in the time of Timur Shāh Abdāli (1207 A.H.) quarrel and enmity arose among the members of the Marlāni rulers when the Durrāni sovereign, took the reins of Government from the descendants of the Marlāni Chief, Ghāzi Khān, and handed over the charge to Mirza Khān Kazilbāsh. The latter derived from this territory nearly 900,000 rupees out of which 50,000 rupees were given as pension to the descendants of Ghāzi Khān[2], Marlāni. A man of noble elements, Nawāb Ghāzi Khān, not ignorant of misfortune, learnt to succor the unfortunate. He endeavoured for the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the country and cut a great canal from the Indus river at about twelve Kuroh to the mouth of Dera Ghāzi Khān famed as the Kasturi canal or Kathuri Nahr[3]. The author describes that the Nutkāni Baluch numbering nearly 7,000 or 8,000 families were subordinate to the Marlānis, after whose decline and deterioration, the Nutkānis submitted to the ruler of Kabul, Timur Shāh, and agreed to pay 60,000 rupees as a cess to the Durrāni sovereign. The territory of the Nutkāni is called Sānghar with Mangrothah as their chief town. The Kulāchi tribe, the author states, consisted of nearly 3,000 to 4,000 families, with their chief's residence at Gharang. The Hot Baluchis are described as a noble tribe consisting of about 20,000 families. The same author, and Raverty[4] state the Dodāi Baluchis as a clan of the Hots. In times bygone, the Hot tribe resided at the town of Makkalwadh, the plain

1. Sohrāb Dodāi had three sons—Ghāzi Khān, 'Ism'ail Khān and Fateh Khān.
2. Some of the descendants of Nawāb Ghāzi Khān at present reside at Dera Ghāzi Khān in abject poverty and are addressed as Mirrāni Nawābs.
3. Sair-ul-Bilād.
4. Mihrān of Sind, p. 389.

country in the North of Sānghar. In Akbar Bādshah's time, as fore-quoted, the Dodāi Baluchis peopled the Dodāi fort which was included in the district "Berun-i-Panjnad".

Timur Shāh Abdāli with his arms and strength marched towards Multan to subvert Sikh power, and, after yoking their rebellious necks entered the Derajāt with the pomp of a medieval conqueror. Nusrat Khān, a descendant of 'Ism'ail Khān Dodāi was captured, confined, and deported to Kabul. The Government of the place was assigned to Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān Kabāchah.

Under Naseer I of Kalāt, a host of various tribes migrated from Kachhi and Khāngarh (Jacobābād) and planted colonies at Harrand and Dājal bordering the eastern limits of the Khānate. After the glorious reign of Naseer Khān, his dominion relaxed and his immediate successor inaugurated a policy of severe repression. Conspiracies were set on foot. Several provinces broke loose and asserted their independence at the cost of terrible perdition. Throughout the land around Kalāt proper, a town or tribe was more often in rebellion than in peace. The Brahui state seemed both weak and decadent. At the same time, contemporary Afghanistan was becoming a bed of thorns for her ruler. Provincial and bourgeois hatred of the then ruler kindled outbreaks and riots in widely separated important cities. The rival claimant to the throne of Kabul, carried fire and sword in all the provinces, which were already infested by hydra-headed troubles. The whole country was endangered by a muster of foreign and domestic enemies. Something was certain about the then Afghanistan that nothing was certain there. Naturally all the territories of the Derajāt nominally under either to the Khānate or Kabul suzerains were convulsed by the prevailing convulsionary struggles. The Abdāli house was fast approaching its doom. A little before their final extinction and amidst the chaos and disintegration that prevailed over the remote provinces of the empire, there arose in Punjab, a one-eyed man, who consoling his natural defect, emulated his jealousy by depriving many a thousand innocents of their sight. This man was the horrid Ranjit Singh whose mock glory marked with uncommon feats of barbarity won for his entire regime the universal appellation of 'Sikha Shāhi'. Inimical to all moral values, this Sikh Chief was a living mystery of perplexing nature. Hate was for him a moral goodness, revenge a duty and pardon an infamy.

The Derajāt territory followed the race of other provinces and slowly began to slip from the grip of her legitimate masters. The high-stomached Ranjit Singh in 1819, determined to extend his territory through storm and stress. He despatched the flower of Sikh chivalry to sabre and bayonet the Derajātis into submission. The lily-livered Afghan Governor without any show of arms abandoned the country, only to seek an ignominious end.

In 1827, the Nawāb of Bahāwalpur could no more remain a silent spectator. Relying more on his fate than the strength of his arms, he threw down the gauntlet, invaded Harrand Dājjal territory and seized it from the Khān of Kalāt. General Venture in Sikh employ, succeeded the Nawāb of Bahāwalpur as Governor of the Derājat in 1830. In 1832, Diwān Sāwan Mal took the charge of governorship and held this office until 1844. The above phases of territorial exchange, gave the unruly neighbouring Baluch tribes an opportunity to plunder and lay waste village after

village. The light fingered diplomacy of the Sikh Government to play off one tribe against another frustrated entirely and the terror-stricken Sikhs harassed from all sides lived close within the forts neighbouring the Derajāt frontier. The payment of the revenue to the Sikh nominee was stopped. Military tactics of the Sikhs failed miserably in the Derajāt, and their patent sabre found in the Derajāt territory a formidable rival Baluchi hand which always carried under its fist a sword of ice-brook temper, formerly used and tested against races, more brave, hardy and mighty than the one against whom it was now unsheathed. The Sikh regime aroused an intolerant militaristic zeal among the Derajāt Baluchis. They could not achieve any territorial gain in these areas even at terrible costs. To wane the waxing glory of the Baluchis needed a far greater price than the Sikhs were actually prepared to pay. The raids of the Mazāris, Gurchānis, Leghāris, Khetrāns and Bozdārs burnt deep into the memory of Punjab. The universal woe of their horror became a byword in every Sikh household. Fleshed with slaughter these tribes with other *hoc genus omne*, indiscriminately pillaged the horn and corn of the neighbouring districts, with the least heed paid to the dicta of mercy or justice, if ever they possessed any.

In 1833, the *la loyale epee* of the British—the unsceptred Shāh Shuja, undestined to taste the Fortune's intoxicating cup, was eating the bread of idleness as a refugee of the British at Ludhiāna. For a long time, finding himself amidst a list of mishaps and misfortunes, this football of fortune threw up the sponge. But encouraged by the British, once again determined to make another effort to test his fortune on the cool peaks of Kabul mountains which had already cooled his ambition for a short time. In 1834, he demanded active assistance from Ranjit Singh, in return of which, he renounced all claims to the countries bordering on the Indus. The help of the high-viced Mahārāja only augmented his misfortunes. A man who was not his own master, Shāh Shuja had to witness the bad end of a bad beginning. His men were squeezed through a horn and the whole expedition terminated into an explicit failure. In 1838, however, the British Government, doubtful of the designs of the Russian and Persian Governments, again countenanced Shāh Shuja to ambition the sovereignty of Kabul. In the same year at Lahore by the mediation of the British, the treaty of 1834, was ratified between the Shāh and the Mahārāja who knew that he was hitting a man when already down. By this treaty Shāh Shuja completely renounced his claim over the province of Harrand and Dājjal, then nominally under the Kalāt Khānate. In 1839, Ranjit Singh gave up the ghost and the Sikh hegemony lost in them the astuteness and solidarity which peculiarized their short lived reign. His death was the ides of march for the Sikh sovereignty; anarchy and confusion exploited the peoples honour and property throughout the Derajāt territory. Many Kalāti chiefs to share the spoils of the country, invaded Harrand Dājjal with undisciplined Baluchis whose ravages added dire calamities to the entire populace.

After the complete subjugation of Sind in 1843, the British frontier became coterminus with Kalāt territory embracing the Baluch tribes on the north and Brahuis on the west.

In 1844, Diwān Sāwan Mal was succeeded by his son Mulrāj whose disregard of Sikh supremacy gave birth to the outbreak at Multan. In 1848, Mulrāj declared himself independent and murdered Anderson and Vans Agnew at Multan. By the

order of the British Resident then stationed at Lahore, Sir Herbert Edwards assisted by Brahuis seized Mangrotha, Dera Ghāzi Khān and Harrand and after crossing the river, defeated Mulrāj at Kanery and Saddoz, and proceeded to the rallying-point to help General Whish in the subjection of Multan.

On the annexation of Punjab in 1849, the whole of Derajāt country, hitherto, a hotbed of seditions surrendered her destiny as a remote part of Punjab and the ghost of Afghan or Kalāt supremacy over the land vanished for ever. Thus, in 1849, Britain became master to a country where the frontier was a random one undefined by her previous heirs. Thenceforth till 14th August, 1947, the imperialists of Delhi dictated command over the Derajāt people, who, timely responded to the British call and declared 'we obey and serve'.

The regime of worthless rulers in Punjab, in time bygone, always opened a tempting prospect for the Derajāt Baluchis to levy fiefs and exact Jāgirs. Whenever the contemporary courts interfered with their internal affairs, the answer was a revolution. In the time of peace, they enjoyed the fortune of a race that had no history. A set of savages—noble savages, they were endowed with deep tincture of virtue and generosity. Among the various big tribes of this region, the Mazāri, Khosa and the Bozdār are the most powerful. The Mazāris are mentioned as inveterate and famous for their piracies on the Indus[1]. The Mazāri chiefs, Nawāb Sir Imām Bakhsh Khān and his son Nawāb Sir Bahrām Khān were men of the same kidney and the only two distinguished chiefs the tribe boasts of. Bahrām had all his father's pride of birth, but nature had not been so bountiful to his person as to his mind.

Of the Khosa tribe, we are to rely on General Pallock's description: "It is rare to find a Khosa who has not been in prison for cattle stealing or deserved to be. A Khosa who has not committed a murder, debauched his neighbour's wife, or destroyed his neighbour's land mark is a decidedly creditable specimen, if, in addition, be out of debt, he is a perfect marvel[2]." In 1848, when the Multan war broke out, Kaorā Khān, the Khosa chief, besieged and took Dera Ghāzi Khān from the Sikhs and handed over its charge to Lt. H. B. Edwardes. In the Bozdār rebellion of 1857, the tribe turned hostile to the British and several of its ring leaders expiated their treason on the scaffold.

Lawlessness and plunder either in hot or cold blood had been the common avocations of the Bozdārs since ages. The Moghul rulers, in the interest of their internal policy, bestowed a yearly allowance on the Bozdār chief for the safeguard of neighbouring Punajb districts.[3]

During the Indian war of Independence in 1857, the Bozdārs, boldly shared the fate of the rest of India. They openly defied the British regime and raised the standard of rebellion throughout their land. After a bloody battle, the Bozdārs left the field with all the consequences which usually attend a calamitous defeat.

1. See Elphinstone's 'History of India'.
2. 'Frontier and Overseas expeditions', Vol. III, p. 75.
3. See 'Ain-i-Akbari'.

CHAPTER XV

THE PERSIAN BALUCHISTAN

The Baluch race since the dawn of history, till the present age has been looked down on as an alien race by the Persian rulers, and their territory ever remained a neglected part of the Persian dominion. Discountenanced in every age and in every field, nevertheless, they proved as the backbone of some of the Persian emperors at the time of crucial tests of history. The loyalty or disloyalty of this mighty race made the Persian history either glorious or inglorious.

The present pages deal with the Baluchis of that part of Persia which once formed the cradle of the race i.e. Kirmān with its dependencies besides the Baluchis of Seistān and Herāt. Herāt in its greater part of history has been under the Persian lords. What is now western Afghanistan has, through major part of history, been eastern Khurāsān. After the fall of the Nādirian empire, Herāt soon changed its master, and remains as a flourishing border town of the Afghan Government till the present day. In the nineteenth century twice has the covetousness of Persia for Herāt brought a Persian army to the walls of the town, resulting on each occasion fatal diplomatic rupture.

History

From the time of Alexander till the beginning of the nineteenth century, we know no authentic record of the various races inhabiting the Kirmān province or the Persian Baluchistan. In consequence of the precarious political and territorial changes in these areas, the history of its nomadic people faded into obscurity. On the eve of the Arab conquest of Kirmān, during the Caliphate of 'Umar, the great' and 'Uthmān, we see a part of the Baluchis, inhabiting the mountains of Kirmān defined by the Arab chroniclers as the mountains of the Qufs and Balus. After the overthrow of the Baghdād Caliphate, Kirmān was successively ruled by the Beni Buwayah dynasty, the Seljuks, the Khawārazms and a Karā Khitaian family who enjoyed their hard-earned victory till 1300 A.D. As stated before, we come across the Baluchis tempering their swords against the rising might of the Dailemi King, Adādud Dowlah. The pride of M'uin-ud-Dīn Abul Khair, the Dailemi, was subdued by the Baluchis at the passes of Sarpazan and Darfarid. The province of Kirmān has been repeatedly destroyed and sacked by conquerors from the east and west. The united savagery of Chengiz, Timur and Nādir in brave pursuit of chivalrous empire have spent their forces upon the hopeless population of the province. The Seljuk and the Mongol conquest of Persia pushed back bulk of the Baluchis from Kirmān province towards Bampur and Seistān. Muhammad Ibrāhīm[1] in his history of the Seljuks of Kirmān men-

1. Muhammad Ibrāhīm wrote his history in the 17th century, but he obtained his information from the chronicle of Afzal Kirmāni who wrote at the end of the 12th century during the reign of the Ghuz Chief, Malik Dinār.

tions the Kurds and Qufs who made forays in the vicinity of Kirmān.Malik Kāward, the Seljuk, subduing Kirmān (1045 A.D.) handed over the country between Kirmān mountains upto the Sea of 'Omān to the Qufs with their centre, the hilly region of Bārjān. A little later at Jiruft, Malik Kāward attacked the leading Qufs who had assembled there for a wedding festival. The craft of the sword outwitted the craft and concord of the music. The hopeless Qufs caught by stratagem were slain altogether and their whole territory comprising the region of Garmsir and the lower districts of Kirmān sunk under the yoke of the Seljuk invader. The same historian further states that the fort of Rāsukhān was under the possession of 'Koch-wa-Baluch' who inhabited the Garmsir of Kirmān and were allied to the ruler of Hurmuz. Afterwards when the Ghuz Turkoman subjugated Kirmān, their ruler Malik Dīnār proceeded to Minujān and then to Jiruft which was also held by the 'Koch-wa-Baluch'. Both these places were reduced by the Ghuz victor. The repression of the Ghuz in Kirmān was superseded by the conquest of Kirmān from Khawārazm under Razi-ud-Dīn Malik of Zuzān. The Khawārazm victory was followed and overset soon by the terrific destruction of the horrible hordes of Changiz Khān which pushed the Baluch race towards further east—the districts of Lāshar, Magas, Sib, Soran, Bug, Gishkaur and Dombak around Bampur as their nucleus. Another migration of the race took the route of Seistān and Khurāsān and further penetrated as far Garmsir (Garmsel), Zamindāwar and Shorāwak in Afghanistan.

Herāt

During the 13th and 14th century Khurāsān, we find in the north of Herāt, near Bādghis, the Baluchis forming a major section of the settled and nomadic population of the Place[1]. Herāt, in Khurāsān, has experienced a history of strange and stormy mutations. Situated on the borders of Persia and Afghanistan, it has been the constant theatre of armed struggle and a favourable battle-ground of central Asiatic adventurers. It has been the residence of stupendous Mongol rulers and functioned as the glacis of mighty monarchies appearing on the political horizon of Khurāsān. The races inhabiting the land faced strange shocks of fortune and enjoyed rare periods of happiness. The role of the Baluchis was no less significant in the history of the 14th century Herāt.

Allied with the Kurt rulers of Herāt, the Baluchis formed the flower of their soldiery. The decisive part played by them in the internecine wars that ensued between the Mongols and the Kurts is worthy of mention. Ameer Qutlugh Shāh, the Mongol, after a war to the uttermost defeated Ameer Nauroz who came to Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, governor of Herāt, (d.706/1307) and sought his help. Qutlugh for the second time invaded Herāt with a cavalry of seventy thousand picked mongols. Nauroz employed the various warlike tribes of Herāt town, the Baluch, Khalaj, Moghul, Abiwardi and Sarakhsi to guard the forted town[2]. The fight ended without deciding the final issue. In the same year, Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Sām killed Dānishmand, the father of

1. "Rauzat-ul-Jannat-fi-l-ausāf-i-Madinat-il-Herāt" by M'uin-ud-Dīn-az-Zamchi-al-Isfizari (d.897/ 1491).

2. 'Tārikh Nāma-i-Herāt', by Saif bin Muhammad bin Y'aqūb al-Harawi, edited by Professor Muhammad Zubair p. 424.

Sultān Uljāyatu Bujai, and fled for refuge to Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn. The wrath of kings is always dreadful. Sultān Uljāyatu Bujai at the head of his Mongol army beleaguered the city of Herāt in the month of Sh'ubān of the same year. Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Sām and Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn mustered the cream of their chivalry from the warriors of Ghori, Herāti, Sajzi, Baluch and Khalaj. The hostile forces in a soldierly discipline wedged together in the closest array for three days. Seldom before, Herāt, saw such an inhuman butchery of mankind. The bloody battle field turned into a pool of blood and the dreadful scene alloyed with confusion presented, as if, men were meeting on the day of resurrection[1]. Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn abandoned Herāt and encamped in the fort of Amān Kuh, leaving the historic town in charge of his experienced general and ally, Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Sām. The Mongol swordsmanship, at length, witnessed the victorious day and the unfortunate town saw the perpetration of all those wanton wrongs which the ruthless code of war allowed in that age. Shortly afterwards, in 1306 A.D. Jamāl-ud-Dīn was captured and killed by Sultān Bujai and his patron Malik Fakhr-ud-Din Kurt, having died, his brother Malik Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn secured the favour of the Mongol sovereign in obtaining the governorship of Herāt. He employed Ghuris, Harwis, Nikudaris, Baluchis, Khaljis and Sajzis in his arms against the Mongol aggressors beyond Khurāsān. The combined forces displayed incomparable bravery in several combats against the Mongols, who time and again attacked Herāt. Prince Yasūr collected a huge Mongol army and despatched it to storm Herāt. To ward off the inevitable deluge, Malik Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn, in hot haste combed warriors from above mentioned allied tribes. Mubārak Shāh Bujai, the general in command of the Mongol army, reached Bādghis after a march of ten days. All the Herātis assembled inside the fort save the Baluchis who possessed great herds. Ameer Abāji commanding the combined Herāt army marched from the town to give an open battle to the enemy. In the meanwhile, Mubārak Shāh's men fell like a dreadful storm on some of the nomad Baluchis and carried away cattle and sheep. Shāh Baluch, the Baluch Chief, mustering all his force encountered with a high arm the Mongol cavalry numbering six thousand. In the heat of battle, Ameer Abāji with a thousand cavaliers reached the fatal scene. An awful scene of sword and spear battle ensued. The spirit of calm confidence on the part of the Baluch warriors won against the blustering violence of the Mongols. Their savage courage soon melted away, and abandoned the stricken field, leaving on the fatal spot few thousand dead, wounded and many carried into captivity[2].

Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn, now safe from the Mongol inroads, led the elite of his army, the Baluchis, and Nikudaris against the rebel chief of Asfrār, Qutub-ud-Dīn and defeated him in his ambition. After this, he sent an army from the men of Baluch, Harawi, Nikudari and Sajzi, to ransack the land of Farrah which hanged the red flag. The rebellion was quashed and the malefactors were hanged in chains and their bodies allowed to remain as a warning. Having accomplished this, Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn started for Holy Mecca and his son resumed his office. The people of Farrah under the hot-mouthed Yanāltagin again rubbed up the wrong way and prepared to run upon the

1. 'Tārīkh Nāma-i-Herāt, p. 506, by Saif bin Muhammad, bin Y'aqūb al-Harawi.
2. Ibid, pp. 696-697.

rocks. The young prince started with a formidable army to wipe out old scores. Before reaching Farrah, a contingent of Baluchis attacked his army but were dispersed away. Farrah was besieged and after few sallies and counter sallies both the parties burried the hatchet.

Seistān

Of all the Persian provinces, Seistān alone served as an alluring ground to the Baluchis. Her enticements for delightful and peaceful life has its own charms to prevail over the rustic passion of a nomadic race. Turbat-i-Haideri, the strategic point in Seistān, lies between Turshiz and Turbat-i-Sheikh Jām and is peopled mainly by the two major races, the Karai Turks and the Baluchis who often made it a scene of intrigues and revolutions.

From the time of Alexander's march from Seistān (Drangiana[1]) till the rise of the Sefavi dynasty successive visitations of scourges of mankind peopled and destroyed the country. Several times the blossoming oases of Seistān were turned into ruinous wastes. In the turbulent period succeeding the conquest of Seistān by Timur, the Tartar, the local Kiānian rulers of Seistān succeeded to the severity of changes that swept over the country as thick as hail. Their nominal chiefship over the land remained till the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the middle of the same century, Seistān appeared upon the chess board of Anglo Indian diplomacy.[2] But the beginning of the twentieth century saw its people saying adieu to the days of confusion and corruption. During the reign of the Sefavi ruler, Shāh Hussain, the two sons of Kiānian Malik Fateh 'Ali, Muhammad Hussain Khān and Malik Mahmūd, renounced allegiance to the former who sent the Beglar Begi of Meshad, Fateh 'Ali Khān, to chastise the insurgents[3]. Kirmān too followed the course of other rebellious provinces, and alike in Persian Baluchistan, Sultān Mahmūd better known as 'Khar Sowar' (donkey rider) created disturbances[4]. Amidst the general tumult we find the Seistān Baluchis survived after suffering distressing blows. We hear but little about the race taking part in any of the decisive issues which hanged at the threshold of Seistān, whether tributory to the outgoing masters of Kandahār[5] or subject to the incoming Ghilzai rulers. Meer Wais, the Hotaki Ghilzai chief, gained possession of Kandahār with its dependencies in 1120 A.H. (1708-9 A.D.) and died in 1132 A.H. (January 1720 A.D.) leaving two sons, Mahmud and Hussain, but he was succeeded by his brother, 'Abdul 'Aziz who was more fitted for life of an anchoret than a ruler. In the course of two months, the eldest son of Meer Wais, Meer Mahmūd, was raised to the sovereignty by the tribesmen and 'Abdul Aziz' was clapped by the heels and then murdered. Meanwhile, the Abdālis were making hostilities against the Sefavi over-lords. Shāh Mahmūd, later on, represented to the Persian Court that out of loyalty to the latter he had commenced hostilities against the Abdālis. Shāh Hussain Sefavi for his doubtful benefit conferred on Mahmūd the sovereignty of Kandahār, subject to Persia with

1. It is identical with the land of the Herodotean Sarangians.
2. "History of Seistan' by Rezā Kuli.
3. See Shijrat-ul-Mulūk.
4. Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā-i-Nādiri.
5. See "Ain-i-Akbari' and also 'Nādir Nāmeh'.

the title of Hussain Kuli Khān[1]. Consequently, under the pretence of fighting against the Abdālis, Shāh Mahmūd marched into Seistān; and Shahdād Khān, a Baluch chief, styled as Shadlu, seizing the opportunity invaded Kirmān and appeared before Bam. The inhabitants of the place, evacuated the town and sought aid from Shāh Mahmūd then in Seistān. In 1133 A.H. (1720-21 A.D.) the latter marched at the head of a force to Kirmān In the meantime, in his absence the Persian speaking people of Kandahār[2] rebelled, thus precipitating his retreat. During his retreat, he ravaged Kirmān and prevailed over the adjacent places. In the year 1134 A.H. (1721-22 A. D.)Shāh Mahmūd at the head of 8,000 men including Hazāras and Baluchis stormed Kirmān and having increased his force to the number of 12,000 subdued the Sefavi kingdom and entered triumphantly Isfahān in 1135 A.H. (1722-23 A.D.) After Shāh Mahmūd, his cousin Shāh Ashraf son of 'Abdul 'Aziz succeeded to the throne. He employed a Baluch Chief named Muhammad Khān as his envoy to the 'Ottoman' Sultan's court. Many different petty rulers were dependent on the Sefavi monarchy, and among them was a Baluch chief named Muhammad, who held a big territory near Bandar-i-Sultān[3]. Probably this Muhammad Khān is the same person deputed by Ashraf. Some of the chroniclers are of opinion that by the time Muhammad Khān returned from his embassy, Ashraf had been defeated and his men driven out of Persia and that he presented the treaty to Nādir who reciprocated his service by making him the governor of the Giluiyah district. Few historian mention that the same Muhammad Khān Baluch fought with Nādir on behalf of the young Shāh, Tahmāsib, whom Nādir had set aside, when he arrogated with a prevalence terrible than magic, the sovereignty of Persia[4]. After his defeat by Nādir then general of the young Shāh Tahmāsib, Shāh Ashraf with his family left Persia and reached Laki, a town of Garmsir (Garmsel) on the Helmund. Shāh Hussain, the brother of late Shāh Mahmūd who as said was killed by the intrigues of Shāh Ashraf, sent a force under his slave Ibrāhīm to murder Ashraf on the way before he reaches Kandahār. On the night of the 27th Ramdhān, 1142 A.H. (April 1730 A.D.) Ashraf reached a place in the Zard Koh of lower Shorāwak, near Saklān where Ibrāhīm attacked him and despatched his body to the grave with a matchlock ball[5]. Another version holds that Ashraf after his defeat, endeavoured to reach his native place via Seistān, but the lawless Baluch tribes attacked him on every side. Ibrāhīm Khān son of 'Abdullah Khān Baluch slew him and sent his head and a priceless diamond, whichwas found on his person, to Shāh Tahmāsib[6].

Seistān passed to the sceptre of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli after the defunction of Nādir Shāh and continued to pay tribute to the son and successor of Ahmad Shāh—Timur Shāh till his death in 1793. Malik Muhammad Naseer Khān after his father's

1. Kuli signifies in Turkish language a servant or slave and thus the title means "the Khan, the servant or slave of Shah Hussain".
2. See 'Nādir Nāmeh'.
3. Ibid.
4. 'Fawāid-us-Safaviyah' by Abul-Hassan Kazwini; 'Tārikh-e-Nādirah' by Mirza Mehdi Khān, p. 148.
5. 'History of Persia' by J. Bailie Fraser; see also Raverty's "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan".
6. "History of Persia', by Sir John Malcolm, Volume II, p. 15.

death was confirmed in all his honours and possessions over Seistān by Timur Shāh in 1781 A.D. In 1208 A.H. (1793-94 A.D.) Muhammad Naseer died. People of Seistān urged Malik Bahrām Khān to succeed his brother but he refused and contented to work as the guardian of his nephew, Malik Suleymān Khān, (Khān Jahān Khān), who died in minority in 1217 A.H. (1802 A.D.) All real power, however, was vested in the hands of Malik Bahrām Khān and the great influx of Baluch tribes into Seistān from Kirmān and Herāt took place during his reign. The skirts of the mountains to the tower of Ilumdār was covered by the tents of Baluch Nomads[1]. 'Alam Khān the Nahorui chief, a nephew of Meer Mehrāb, migrated from Bampur to Seistān where he got the permission to settle in the district of Kala-i-Nau. The Nahorui chief built the village of Burj-i-Meer 'Alam Khan, known as Kala-i-Kohna. Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the son of Malik Bahrām Khān married into the family of Ibrāhīm Khān Sanjarāni, the Chief of Chakansur. In 1839, the Kiānian Maliks lost all authority over Seistān, which was then partitioned between the chiefs of the Sarbandis, Sanjarānis, Nahoruis and the Shahrakis. In the recent history, the Shahrakis have been in alliance with the Sarbandis as a counter balance to the 'Baluch' party formed by the Nahoruis and Sanjarānis. The Sanjarāni chief, Ibrāhīm Khān, murdered in 1840 A.D. Dr. Forbes, a surgeon in the East India company's service. After the former's death his son and successor Khān Jahān Khān wielded the destiny of the tribe for over fifty years. He was the perfect model of a chief after the Baluch conception. He grudged the sovereignty of Seistān but his ambition had to struggle against the fortune of a dread race. In 1866, as told by Sir Frederik Goldsmidt, the Persians curbed his power and gained possession over all Seistān. With all the political reverses, the Sanjarānis are yet in possession of Chakansur, the flourishing part of Seistān. After the extinction of Durrāni Empire a permanent partition of Seistān was made in 1872 by the Goldsmidt's commission. Seistān proper was given to Persia and outer Seistān to Afghanistan. This division, accordingly, divided the Baluch population of the region. Henceforth division, Seistān began to appear on the political map of Asia. After the surpassing glory of Nādir, the political sky of Persia was studded with innumerable stars of transmuting magnitude. Some parts of Persian Baluchistan owed allegiance to the strong sceptre of the Durrāni conqueror, Ahmad Shāh, but soon after his death, the Durrāni supremacy was overthrown by the Baluch chief of Bampur and asserted his independence. For about a century the entire Persian Baluchistan enjoyed complete independence under different Baluch chiefs and the people enjoyed the piping times of peace[2]. During the Kājār regime, all the Baluch phylarchies proved as an ulcer on the body politic of Persia. The Seistān Baluchis followed the like course of other Baluchis. Hisām-ul-Sultanat sent Ameer 'Alam Khān Kiāni and Hassan Khān to overcome the revolt of the Baluchis at Seistān[3]. Another Baluch revolt overwhelmed the Kirmān province. True to their native element, the Baluchis pillaged the caravans, trade routes became unsafe and the travellers were so much terrorized that they huddled together like a herd of panic struck deer.

1. Shijrat-ul-Mulūk.
2. "Jughrāf-i-Nizāmi Irān", Muqqadamah Makrān-wa-yā-Hindustān Irān, Fasl I, P. 9, by 'Ali Razm Arā.
3. Tārikh-e-Kāchāria, Vol. III; cf. 'Nāsikh-ul-Tawārikh'.

Prince Tahmāsib Mirza M'uid-Dowlah desptached a formidable force to quench the rebellion. Terror seized the rebel host, of whom many submitted after a stern resistance and their potent chiefs, Rashid Khān, Saif-ud-Din Khān, Azam Khān and Murad Khān, shuffled up a peace and were given big grants of land and money. Another force under Ahmad Mirza assisted by Ameer Auliya Khān Chāmpi and Ameer Ahmad Khān Lāshāri Baluch started for the subjugation of Bampur and Serbāz territories. After a dreadful butchery from both the sides, the Baluchis, finally, submitted to the galling yoke of the Kājār despot. Muhammad Shāh Kājār (1834-48) in his highest flourish posed himself as second Nādir Shāh. Unable to conquer his own vagaries for luxury he hatched the ambitious for wide conquests. The young sovereign though timorous, ambitious, and proud in his sumptuous apparel was yet subtle to see that his power could be maintained by one of the two means—military superiority on the part of the ruler or a policy of dissension among the tribes themselves. *Divide et impera* may be useful to the imperator, but it is decidedly fatal one as applied to his victims. The only chiefships with any shadow of real power that lingered on in contemporary Persia were the Khān of Kuchān, the Ameer of Kain, the Vali of Pusht-i-Koh and the Baluch Chiefs of Persian Baluchistan. The Bampurian[1] Baluch chief of the day invaded Kirmān, Muhammad Shāh eventually sent an army to reduce the invader. It was effected after a dead set. In 1849, the Bampur Baluchis to measure swords, raised the devil, but were soon humbled down. Geh and Qasarkand were also invaded and subdued. Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed as the governor of Bam Narmshir and Bampur. The Kājār monarch with headlong zeal continued a policy of aggression in these Baluch areas. Serbāz was occupied, Buleda reduced and Kej threatened. Inspite of all these expeditions, the Baluch chiefs remained in a state of Semi-dependence. On the other hand there was no sign of Persian authority at the Baluch sea-ports.

The tyrant Muhammad Shāh was followed by Nāsir-ud-Dīn Kājār who took his turn on October 13, 1848. An Amurath succeeded an Amurath. The king of Dalkey, the supine and sullen Nasir-ud-Dīn, enjoyed the Hellen of his Troy when engaged in luxury, temulence and boudoir. He had absolutely no backbone and was equally devoid of any merit required of a king. The Kājār governor of Kirmān on several occasion led attacks on the neighbouring districts of Persian Baluchistan and committed acts of unprecedented cruelty upon the hapless population. Bampur was enlisted as a nominal province of the Kājār dominion.

In 1864, the British Government raised the question of extending the telecommunications from Gwādar to Jask. Incessant diplomatic friction ensued between the British and the Persian authorities until in 1870 Lord Mayo agreed to the appointment of a joint commission by Great Britain, Persia and Kalāt. In 1871, the commission met but failed. The governor of Bampur settled the Kuhak question by marching in and taking forcible possession. Pishin, Isfandak, Murt and Darida were annexed in the same manner. In the same year by the order of Vekil-ul-Mulk, the

1. The present progressive impulse of the Persian Court has nationalized the names of the Persian Baluchistan towns and the name of Pahra has been changed into Iran Shehr, Geh (Nek Shehr) and Dizak (Dāwar Panāh), etc.

Arabs of Muscat were turned out from Chahbār who held it for eighty years. Bashkird then independent under Saif 'Alī Khān till 1874, was brought under subjection. Strange wicked aggressions were pursued in all directions. The brisk display of profanity and folly on the part of the sovereign brought chaos to the entire realm. After a reign of forty eight years, Nāsir-ud-Dīn's failures and oppressions exposed him to be assassinated on May 1, 1896. He was succeeded by his take-off Muzaffar-ud-Dīn, who was too destined to live at heck and manger. A carpet-coward by taste and temper, he was deaf to the events that happened under the shade of his palace walls. His governors staged a reign of terror throughout the distant provinces in general and Persian Baluchistan in particular. But inspite of all, the Baluchis preserved their power and prestige at the point of sword. If at all there remained an incomplete page for recording more grave events in the wickedest chapter of the Kājār history, this despot, infact, added much to his credit, and accomplished the heinous task reserved for him. Muzaffar-ud-Dīn died in 1906 and his son, Muhammad Alī succeeded him, but his prominent station disagreed so swift with his inherent qualities that he was deposed in 1909 after a miserable reign of three years. His place was taken by the worthless residue of the dynasty, the boy king Sultān Ahmād Shāh whose fortune after a reign of twelve years submitted to the vile and vigour of the founder of the present Pehlavi dynasty, Rezā Shāh, on February 22, 1921. Thus, throughout the Kājār regime neither their sword nor treasury through power or policy succeeded to cow or buy the freedom loving spirit of the Baluchis of Persian Baluchistan, We quote here the remarks of Percy Sykes regarding the atrocities of the contemporary Kājār court committed against the Baluchis: "Punishments are still very cruel, every torture imaginable being practised. A new ruler frequently tortures the first gang of brigand that he captures, not from cruelty but in order to inspire terror. Gradually, however, European influence is humanizing Persian justice, and fewer cases of burying alive in mortar, shoeing with horse-shoes and similar punishment are now heard of[1]". In short, the aggressive policy of the Kājār sovereigns gave two feelings to the Baluchis of this vast territory—an intense love for tribal independence and strong aversion towards the Persians. During the World War I the Germans, "who were past masters in the art of propaganda", were pouring their agents into India via Persia, and Afghanistan which like the former posed as neutral, but was breaking her neutrality by plain acts of aggression. To reach Afghanistan, however, the German agents had to pass through remote part of Persia, the Baluch Sarhad. Towards the end of February, 1916, General Kirkpatrick, Chief of the General Staff, sent Brigadier General R.E.H. Dyer to take charge of the military operations in South-East Persia.

Inspired by the wine of courage, supported and strengthened by the allied tribal strength, the Sarhad tribesmen ever stood as a strong fence roof for Persia against British aggression. Of all the Chiefs that Commanded the respect and fidelity of the Sarhad tribes, Haleel Khān, Jiand, Shāh Sowār and Jumā Khān were the ideal Dukes of Asian chivalry. Shāh Sowār, a relation of the redoubtable Jiand had been once the owner and governor of Khwāsh Jumā Khān described as a "very pleasing,

1. "A History of Persia", Vol. II, p. 386, by Sir Percy Sykes.

well cut, high-bred face, always full of smiles and laughter, as though life were one huge joke", was famous throughout the Sarhad as a man who abode by his word. He made alliance, later on, with the British General but the remaining two, Haleel Khān and Jiand fought in high leg to the last moment. After many skirmishes, the final issue was debated at Gusht, a place in the vicinity of Khwāsh territory. Haleel Khān took the general command of the Baluchis and launched an attack in the howe of the night. Haleel and his men were caught in a trap. After a terrific rain of bullets from both sides, the battle terminated in favour of the British. To quote Dyer, "Haleel Khan and his men fought like tigers, but were in an impossible position. We had all the ammunition we required and an easy target. Our own casualties were astonishingly light, but we did not get off scot-free, and Haleel Khan was personally responsible for many of our men[1]". Haleel Khān was shot down. A bullet pierced his eye and had blown the back of his head off. Haleel was a "brave man as well as a great leader", and accordingly, General Dyer accorded him "a soldier's burial, one befitting his brave deeds and position", by inviting all the Muslim priests and chiefs to follow his funeral. His person seemed to be a new incarnation of some øf the exalted dead. With Haleel's death, died the dreadful spirit of the Sarhadis. British influence prevailed without a challenge upon the frontier. Yār Muhammadzais were completely defeated next in open action. Gamshādzais abandoned arms and withdrew from the battlefield. Juma Khān, the Ism'ailzai, kept his faith with the British. The whole storm-tossed Sarhad, the surpassing scene of dramatic happenings for the British, was pacified after so many hopes and fears.

Rezā Shāh Pehlavi and the Subjugation of Persian Baluchis

Two years after the termination of the World War I, Reza Shāh, starting his career from a humble state, marched with a force of four thousand towards Tehrān and became the sole master of Persia without a single shot on February 22, 1921. He came to the throne well prepared and tutored for the profession of a monstrous tyrant. In his role as a true despot, he reached the pink of perfection and left an ugly mark on his age. The entire Persian Baluchistan, his purposed prey, sunk unto unbearable misery and uneasy terror. He pursued with a wanion whole bag of tricks in exterminating Baluchi rule and influence over Persian Baluchistan. The Pehlavi upstart strengthened his unhappy reign by hang, draw, and quarter. This was art and part of his despotic strategy. Inaugurating a reign of dread and awe, he believed in one word : everything or nothing.

Beside racial difference between the two people, the Persian and the Baluch, the sectarian spite and prejudice of the Persian Shi'ās against Sunnis, all the more proved a more fatal weapon to extirpate the Baluchis, all whom belong to the Sunni sect. The centuries old Shi'ā-Sunni rancour in the Muslim world can be judged from the 'Fatwās' of the Turkish 'Ulemā' (the body of professional theologians and doctors of divinity, and therefore of law) at the time when the Ottoman Sultān, Salīm 'the grim' declared to wage a religious war against the then Shi'aite champion, Shāh Ism'aīl, the Sefavi monarch of Persia. The 'Ulemā declared that there is more credit

1. "The Raiders of the Sarhad" by Brigadier General R. E. H. Dyer, C.B., p. 198.

and virtue to kill one Persian Shi'ā than in destroying seventy Christians.[1] Consequently, Sultān Salīm took the field and at the command of a well-organized army marched on the dominion of the Sefavi monarch. In 1514 A.D. (A.H. 920) at a place near the frontiers of Adherbaijan, he crushed in coup de main the power and pretence of Shāh Ism'aīl who escaped from the field with his wounded body and prestige. Thousands of Shi'ās were captived and sabred into pieces. Henceforth this war, the Shi'āite Persia persistently followed a policy of stern persecution against the Sunnis of Persia. The Baluchis, accordingly, are the only target of their Persian Shi'āite masters who have added some of the worst pages of barbarity and injustice in the annals of Persia. The same remorseless policy is unreservedly carried on to this day. Perhaps she is the cruelest state of her age.

The beginning of the twentieth century, saw the entire Persian Baluchistan split up into four small and mutually hostile independent Baluch principalities—Bampur, Dashtiāri, Dizak and Jask[2], of whom the keystone state, Bampur, was the prime both in vigour and prestige, Neither the ties of blood, nor the surprising pressure of necessity could reconcile the internal quarrels and disunity of the Baluch chiefs, all of whom fell one by one before the wanton aggression of the Pehlavi despot.

Bampur

The Bampur Baluchis during the declining years of the Kājār regime carved out an independent chiefship steered by the Bārānzai family. The neighbouring tribes and towns owed allegiance to the Bampur chief, Meer 'Ali Muhammad, and the Baluchis under his special eye thrived amain. For years Bampur stood impregnable and inviolate the headquarters of the Persian Baluchis. During the Chiefship of Ameer Dost Muhammad Khān Bārānzai, the Baluchis became so strong that they coveted their greedy eyes on the Kirmān province. Dost Muhammad Khān, a fine looking man with commanding presence, presented one of the most striking personalities in the East. A brave warrior, an excellent swordsman, shot and horseman, abstemious in his private life was probably the best living representative of the old style of the Baluch border chieftain—a Baluch masterpiece of all shade and all sun, i.e. generous, honest, liberal and vindictive. His rapacities made him an object of terror on the Persian frontier. He was able to muster up 10,000 fighting men equipped with martini-peabody rifles. Bampur in his time was well guarded and well administered. As a free stronghold of Baluchis, it served as an asylum for all insurgents who absconded from Kalāt State. The irresistable prestige of the Bampur chief and

1. D'ohsson's Ottoman Empire, p. 101.

2. The Baluch principality of Jask with its Capital, the port of Jask, stretched along the coast and was bounded on its north eastern side by the neighbouring Baluch high lands—"The coast districts along the Persian Gulf, too, have always been separated from the uplands and, like Arabistan, inhabited by a non-Aryan people."—"A History of Persia", by Sykes, vol. I, pp. 4-5.

his unbiased sympathies towards his race impelled the British Government in Baluchistan to win at all cost the various chiefs of Makurān, Khārān and Kalāt. The newly rising Baluch fortune having its footing at Bampur was a threat, a challenge to the Pehlavi hero, Rezā Shāh, who with all the might and resources of his legions and regions pushed his sovereignty and claims to tribute far and wide among the surrounding tribes and territories. Several times effort had been made through the Governor of Kirmān to shake off the yoke of Dost Muhammad Khān but all in vain. He was powerful and a remarkable chieftain whom Rezā Shāh in 1929, thirsting for military renown determined to subdue. Essentially a man of the sword, the Persian sovereign displayed supreme diplomatic and military ability in the manner in which he sent his army from Tehrān towards Bampur within a time of few months, marching slowly and secretly from post to post and village to village, until like a thunder, the Pehlavi army bolted on the enemy. In the dead of night, Bampur was besieged with a considerable infantry and air force. Surrounding the Baluchis on all sides, attacked, discomfited and butchered them mercilessly. The royal forces had also to pay a heavy price for their victory. The fight lasted till the late hours of the next day. The fort was taken and hardly in the annals of the Pehlavi regime, a battle so fought and so fairly won. Amidst the confusion that prevailed over the fallen town, Ameer Dost Muhammad managed his escape and thousands of armed Baluchis ablaze to fight, immediately, rallied round his banner. Strange is the die of war. He held the enemy at bay in the convicinity of Bampur. Several pitched battles were fought resulting to the utter rout of the Persians. The Persian success at Bampur was everywhere clouded with disastrous defeats. Distraught and mad with terror, the Persians made approaches for an honourable peace. The Persian monarch adroit in intrigues sent word written on the Holy Qurān, promising the Baluch hero of the situation all sorts of honour best suited to his station. A man of great historical character, Ameer Dost Muhammad Khān, according to the character of his race, ceased hostilities and left for Tehrān for further negotiations. The Persian stratagem prevailed over Baluch simplicity—wile won gallantry. He got a princely welcome with widespread pleasure at Tehrān and was treated like a refugee ruler. But all this show was nothing more than that of a cade lamb of a butcher which is well fed before butchering. The unfortunate Baluch Chief was hanged on gallows at Tehrān and his servant, Shakkar Khān Rind, too died in his shoes. Henceforth, Bampur remained without a real Baluch master.

The last Baluch Ameerate that fell prey to the arrows of fate since two decade was the chiefship of Jask ruled by Mirza Khān. The Jask chief took up arms against the Tehrān power and struggled to the bottom of the bag, but at last was forced to hang up his axe and fly for safety towards Arab Sheikhdoms. Henceforth, the entire Persian Baluchistan remained like a body without head. Descending unto most mean ruptures of beastly whims, Rezā Shāh, destroyed one by one, the rank and fashion of the millions of Persian Baluchis, by means, most deplorable. Family after family were deported, thousands were deprived of their property; the elders of the distinguished families exposed to most inhuman tortures were flayed, blinded,

maimed and often minced. Notwithstanding all these oppressions, the undespairing Baluchis from the tent to the town, from the camp to the college have even to the present day kept their racial and religious pride and zeal, and never gave way to the supposed accrescent influence of the Pehlavi court.

Political estimate of the Persian–Baluchis

The Persian Baluchistān, Sarhad, Baluchis of Seistān and Khorāsān occupy a compact country far greater in area and in population than the whole of Baluchistan proper. If a line be drawn from Sarakhs on the Russian border to Gunābād, Meshad and thence straight to Bampur, Ramish and finally to Bandar 'Abbās, the territory to the east of this line, touching the boundaries of the Baluch territories of Afghanistan, and Makurān, is mainly a Baluch country. Lord Curzon defines the boundaries of Baluchistan as, "the country between the Helmund and the Arabian Sea, and between Kerman and Sind". In Afganistan, a part of the Helmand basin *i. e.* Farrah, Chakansur and Garmsel, besides Shorāwak, and Bādghis in Herāt are Baluch territories. The Persian Government, to this day could not purchase either through power or money the sympathies of the Baluchis of Persian Baluchistan. The history of Persian rule in this area is nothing but a history of oppression, corruption and revolt. "I have frequently depicted the Persian petty governor or official", remarked Curzon fifty years back, "as one of the most undesirable and flagitious of the human race; and with a poor, unarmed population such as they have encountered in Baluchistan, the members of his class have found ample scope for all their talents. Taxes have been collected twice over at the point of the bayonet; local chiefs have been arrested or removed; the people have been driven from their homes. The consequence is that agriculture has fallen into decay, the irrigation system has broken down and the miserable peasants have flocked out of the country in hundreds to India or Muscat". The utter misery of Persian administration has taught the Baluchis to accept with impatience any change that communicates a glorious future. If any interference be displayed with the smallest show of military force in this territory, they would probably welcome it and entertain the change of masters, in the belief that God has been kind on them. A prescriptive right of more than two thousand years over Persain Baluchistan has not so far enabled or justified the Persian Baluchis in the eyes of their Persian suzerain to claim elementary rights which are even not denied to domestic animals all over the civilized world in an age where safeguard of the human rights are held more sacred than the word of gospel. The Persian Baluchis are slowly but steadily joining hands against the pernicious pulse and programme of their predominant masters whom they serve with a broken faith. Persia's misplay of policy in this area is offering favourable chances for the assertion of Baluch nationalism which is lurking in the hinterland of every Baluchi brain.

The whole of Persian Baluchistan is of no substantial value to Persia. Their exists a wide gulf between the ruler and the ruled. The Persian Governor commands over a people who are ever restless to rise against his arbitrary powers. We now deal with the characteristics of the Persian Baluchis. The Persian Baluchis

speak a Baluchi dialect with a fusion of Persian words, and, therefore, differs slightly with the dialect spoken in the Eastern Baluch highlands[1]. "These various tribes", writes Dyer, "all belong to the Sunni branch of the Mohammadan religion, and are of Arab origin. As a whole they are a fine-looking set of men, slim and graceful, with fine, intelligent faces and aquiline features. Their hair is allowed to grow unrestricted, and fall in long black ringlets, on either side of the face, in true King Charles I style. In fact, one of these men, with whom I afterwards made good friends, was nicknamed Charles I. On sight, as, with his flowing ringlets and short pointed beard he bore such a strong resemblance to the pictures of that unfortunate monarch. These men are fine skirmishers, and will fight with the utmost bravery when well led, and have confidence in their leaders[2]". Among themselves these tribes were once on terms of constant quarrel and conflict; but they now collide occasionally. Cradled in the severe and animating climate of a hilly region and schooled for centuries by constant state of flux and war, urged both by blood and tradition, the Persian Baluchis proved a set of redoubtable soldiers. The brave Baluch youth accustomed to the use of rifle from his minority is a wonderful marksman, and regards his rifle as the best friend, more dear than his life and to hand over it to the enemy in a combat is a great affront to him[3]. The nomad existence of the people has not been replaced by sedentary life, and the free and natural dignity of the Baluch has not succumbed to Persian wiles and luxuries. The main profession of the tribesmen is cattle breading and trade. The pursuit of agriculture is not as popular with all classes as the pursuit of arms. On the sea- coast they fish and trade and export their date crops. Their wealth is mainly expressed in flocks of sheep which supply them with their woollen blankets and tents. Often the urgent dictates of self-interest actuate them to extort the resources of their peaceful neighbours either by violence, raids or by peaceful methods. What he was centuries before, is today the same. Progress, change and evolution are the laws which he detests. His 'house of hair' is yet the pattern of his architectural designs. The Sarhad Baluch truly reflects the works of the flesh—emulations, wrath, strife and sedition. He deems the profession of brigandage, murder, hunting and piracy as the only honourable profession worthy of a worthy man. Throughout their territory, the will of the strongest is the measure of law and right. It is, therefore, that the whole population has dwindled into factious clubs. The Persian overlords afford no help to the downtrodden and the oppressed. It is one of the most unheeded and remote part of the Persian Empire and apparently nothing seems to check the tide of decline. Though the public spirit in Persia is diseased and dull and the present system of government

1. The Eastern Baluchi dialect corresponds to a great extent with the Achaemenian dialect of the ancient Persian. The readers are suggested to read the passages of the Achaemenian dialect given in Browne's "Literary History of Persia," vol. I; Irān Bāstani Yā Tārikh-i-Muffasil Irān Qadīm, by Aqāi Pirniyā, p. 1550; and also 'Tārīkh-i-Adbiāt Irān, pp. 23-24, by Doctor Razā Zādah Shafaq. The Persian race is under a special debt of gratitude to the Baluchis who preserved their ancient Achaemenian dialect to the present day at the cost of their original language, the language of their ancestors, the Kaldians.

2. "The Raiders of the Sarhad", pp. 43, 44.

3. "Amliāt Qashun dar Baluchistan", by Sipahbud Amānullah Khān Jahānbāni.

has allowed less scope for racial enterprize yet the patent Baluch valour displayed through their sword and snider rifle is ready to fight against any aggression that injures their racial pride or prestige. He is definitely enemy of the man who is enemy of his honour and history. As things depict, no love exists between the two people, a Persian regards a Baluch as a rebel and a savage, and a Baluch regards a Persian as a cheat and liar.

Such is the brief jeremiad of the Persian Baluchis, and we now leave their fate and future to the trend of grave events which are speedfully changing the political and international climate of the entire globe. The future of mankind is in the balance of uncertainties. The answer to the question whether mankind survives or not after the third world war should be sougth from nuclear weapons and its results which will be the basis upon which the future historian will have to record the verdict of history.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BRAHUIS

Origin

The origin of the Brahui race is an enigma of history. The confusion has become more confounded by the fact that the Brahuis are a race of ethnic disorder and perplexity. During convulsive times, distorted men and even families who passed fluid mode of life, separated from their original home or tribe due to the stress of political or social circumstances and joined themselves to the neighbouring nomadic Brahui tribes. The ebb and flow of various races in Kalāt region have made the population a strange miscellany of different tribes which have lost their ancient tribal names and have, finally, succeeded to the power and prestige of the Brahuis. Successive waves of conquest have brought, hither, specimen of most of the ethnic division of Asia. The population of the Kalāt territory, therefore, is as varied as are its physical characteristics.

The term Brahui does not apply rightly to all the confederates. It may represent a special set of tribes whose origin is still obscure, and whose language, in due course of time, has dominated and finally absorbed the language of the other confederates, whereas, today the term Brahui represents a different set of a race having altogether a different language than the rest of Baluchistan. All those tribes whose genealogy cannot be referred to other distinguished races of Baluchistan, namely, the Baluchis, Afghans or the Persians may be well regarded as the real 'Brahui' nucleus. The low standard of civilisation prevailing among them is an almost sure indication that they are a remnant of an ancient Indian race. The majority of the Brahuis hold themselves to be of Arab descent; but the very custom and language of the race manifests that they have absorbed and assimilated the main feature of the Indo-Druids[1] which characterises them with the latter more than their traditional claim. Long before the Arab invasion of Baluchistan, the whole of Kalāt plateau and the plains of Nudhiya were populated by Dravidian tribes who kept up their culture. Many historians and etymologists have concluded with great interest, the Brahuis as the veritable relics of the Dravidians who preceded all the present habitat of the land. Inspite of all, they are being considered by all the antiquaries unanimously that the Brahuis planted their colony in a remote age. They unequivocally demonstrate a nearer affinity to the Indo-Druids as their language though dissimilar from the aborigines of India yet evidently of the same etymon as that of the Gondas and Sonthels of Southern India. "The Brahui language" writes Caldwell "considered as a whole, seems to be derived from the same source as the Panjabi and Sindhi, but it evidently contains a Dravidian element[2]".

1. An Outline of Modern knowledge, p. 452, edited by Dr. William Rose. See also Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, parts 3 and 4, 1946, p. 198, under the caption Brahui et Tsigne by Jules Bloch.
2. "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Language", by Bishop Caldwell.

Denys Bray sums up that "The Brahui language is sprung from the same sources as the Dravidian language group; it has freely absorbed the alien vocabulary of Persian, Baluchi, Sindhi and other neighbouring languages, but inspite of their inroads its grammatical system has preserved a sturdy existence.[1]" It is established by Trump in 1880 and recognized by Grierson in the 'Linguistic Survey of India' that Brahui language belongs to the Dravidian family of central and southern India.

Sir Henry Pottinger considers the Brahuis to be of Tartar origin, but his assertion depends more on speculation than on hard facts. About the Koch or Koj of the Shāh Nāmeh Firdausi, the Arab chronicler al-Idrisi states that they were a sort of Kurds. It is an interesting fact to note that all the Brahuis are known up till now by many Baluchis as Kurd-Gāli (men of Kurd speech). It is noteworthy that the Kurd-Gālis, is a branch of the Kurds of Kurdistān, who emigrated and established the Malik Kurd dynasty of Ghor (1245-1383 A.D.) Besides all, the Brahuis are a set of people without a history or literature—a phenomenon before which history stands bewildered. Their history is that they have no history. Before the Baluch colonisation of Baluchistan the bulk of the Brahuis led an ambulatory life, divided and sub-divided into clans and sub-clans, each headed by their own chiefs. The modern tribe among the Brahuis is an aggregation of clans around a central nucleus. The name Brahui does not occur in the past traditions dealing with Baluchistan and its inhabitants. The ancient Baluchi ballads throw great light upon various tribal names and tribal formations of the past, but regarding the Brahuis, they all remain mute. The so-called term Brahui does not at all carry any racial significance. It is definitely a local eponym, not manifesting a special set of a race claiming a different integrity. The term conveys status rather than race. The name is traditioned to be a corruption of Barohi meaning dwellers of the mountains, a highlander. Even today in Sind[2] 'Barohi' is usually used for the people of the hilly country of Kalāt, but all these traditions and even the local legends of later importations need to be very heedfully analysed, before they can be finally accepted as historical facts. The word Brahui was heard of a little before the time of Nādir Shāh. Their original home had been around Khuzdār plateau, with their headquarter at Kalāt-i-Nichāran[3]. These districts formed a part of Kandahār province under the rule of Emperor Akbar. The people of these places according to Abul Fazl were Baluchis, subject to the Governor of that provinces, and furnished a force of 500 horsemen and 500 foot for Militia purposes[4].

1. For comparative and exhaustive study read Bray's "The Brahui Language".
2. Ba-roh-i means (hill-man).
3. Mr. Duke in his "Report" writes it "Kalati-i-Banjara". In the A'in-i-Akbari, it is not written as "Kalat-i-Banjara" but as Kalat-i-Nichārah or Nichārah(قلات نیچاره یا قلات نچاره). The place was called Nichārah because of a tribe of that name which lived near the town. Hereunto there are signs of an extensive site of an ancient town. Kalāt is a Persian word meaning fort. In Arabic there is a word Kalāt, meaning namely, a fort or castle built specially on the top of hill. The author of the Persian dictionary "Burhān-i-Kāti", writes that کلات is the name of a fort under the Kandahār province and is often written as قلات.
4. "Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan", by H. G. Reverty, p. 608.

Hughes Buller suggests it to be a partronymic like other tribal names. Braho is a popular derivation from Ibrāhīm, the traditional ancestor of the Brahuis of the bluest blood and amongst the Brahuis, Braho is the patronymic for Ibrāhīm. This plausible and popular conviction though ingenious is not convincing. To imagine alone the term Brahui as the main source in determining the origin of the race, is a problem of which a solution seems to be practically impossible. The best remedy, therefore, to deal with the origin of the Brahui race, is to scrutinize separately all the confederate tribes now claiming as Brahuis, and this will unlock the mystery, hitherto, veiling the origin of the race. It cannot be doubted that many tribes of the present Kalāt state are the remnants of tribes that followed the camps of the conquerors from Alexander to Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Abdāli of Kandahār.

During the middle of the seventeenth century, a certain group of families descending from a common ancestor leagued into a semi-military organisation, under the appellation of Brahui confederacy. The pure Brahui blood in Baluchistan hardly exceeds ten thousand souls but the Brahui speaking people are a less than a quarter million. The Brahuis of Brahuis are composed of few tribes all of whom by common consent are acknowledged to be descended from the original and true Brahui stock. The pure Brahui nucleus are the Ahmadzai, Iltāzai, Meerwāni, Kambarāni, Gurgnāri, Sumālāri, Kalandarāni and Rodeni. The rest of the clans are strangers who, for various reasons, allied themselves with the Brahuis. Tribes like the Lehri, Bangulzai, Shāhwāni, Dodāi (clan of Muhammad Shahi) in Sārāwān, while Bājoi and Lothiāni, etc. in Jhālāwān are decidedly of Baluch off-shoots. Even now these tribes in cases of pedigree discussions, return themselves as Baluchis instead of Brahuis. The Muhammad Hassanis are confessedly the Mamasseni Lurs of Persia. The Zarakzais of Jhālāwān and the Raisānis are of Pathan stock. The Sākā tribe of the Gressia plain situated on the borders of Makurān and also the Dāhoe tribe are the remnants of the tribes bearing the same name on the shores of Caspian Sea. The above tribes followed the suit of Alexander on his Asiatic conquests. The Sarparā tribe whose original place in the time of antiquity was very remote to those which their descendants are now to be found. They claim to be of Afghan stock, but it is interesting to note that a tribe of almost identical name with an identical meaning lived in the days of yore much further to the west. Some tribes of Thracians, surnamed Saraparoe or decapitators, lived in the days of yore above Armenia, near the Gouranii and Meds. They were a savage people, intractable mountaineers, and decapitate stranger, for such used to be the meaning of the term Saraparoe.[1] The famous historian Pliny mentions that a tribe called Saraparoe resided near the Oxus. Even today the Sarparās are famous for their decapitation. 'They are notorious for quarrelling among themselves, and it is said that they fight each other over a dog or a cat. The Murrais, who are dominant in Gurgina, are the most turbulent of all the clans.'[2] The position assigned by Strabo to the Saraparoe that they were neighbours of the tribes, known now as Kurds and dwelt between those tribes and the Caspian Sea. Even today in Baluchistan, at no distance from the Sarparā tribe lives the part of the

1. Strabo, Geography, BKXI, Chapter XIV, S. 14 Falconer's translation.
2. Baluchistan District Gazetteer, Vol. VI, p. 65.

Kurd tribe who are settled at the head of the Bolān Pass. The Sāsoli are definitely of Indian origin, while Bizanjo though claiming affinity with the Baluch, yet are of mongrel stock. The sub-clans of the Bizanjo tribe i.e. Hamlāni, Nothāni, 'Nindwāni, 'Omrāni and Siahpād are decidedly of the pure Baluch origin; the Tambarāni, Chanāl and Motak are branched off from an Indian race, (the Jats). The Lāngavs[1] are looked on as a subject race, but in fact, they belong to the Baluch blood. The Mirwāris themselves claim descent from an Arab ancestors who originally came from 'Omān but their claim in all probability is as false as waghorn. The Mardoi tribe are Jadgāl descended from Jām Shādin fourth son of Jām Ari, the Progenitor of the Baprāni Jāms of Thāna Bhula Khān, in the Karachi district.

Khān Khudādād Khān gave the following classification of the principal tribes of the Kalāt State, as reported by Hughes Buller:—

> "Kambarānis, Mirwānis, Gurgnāris, and Kalandarānis as real Brahuis. Bangulzais, Lāngav and Lehris as Rind Baluch; Raisānis, Shāhwānis and Sarparās as Afghans or Pathans; Kurds and Mamasni as Persians; Bizanjo, Mengal, Sajdi and Zehri as Jats; while the Muhammadshāhis and Nichāris as the aboriginal tribes"

The nucleus of the Zehris of Jhālāwān belong to the Arab stock. Zehri is a sub-clan of the venerable Arab Qurayshites. Hazarat S'ad bin Abi Waqās, the relative of the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him) belonged to the Zehri branch of the Quraysh, and so, too, 'Abdur Rehmān bin 'Auf, the famous companion, belonged to the same clan[2]. Many Quraysh and Syrian tribes during the Arab conquest of Baluchistan settled in the Kalāt highlands, specially in Jhālāwān which remained as the base of the Arab Army with its centre at Kusdār (the modern Khuzdār) e.g. the tribes of Azdi, Advi, Kalbi, Taghlabi and Tamemi and so on Zehri. We find even today the Azdi clan among the Rind Baluch tribe. The original Zehri blood in Baluchistan in due course of time has mixed with various non-Arab blood elements. The Dāyān and Rais both of Indian origin are today one of the powerful clans of the Zehri tribe. During the reign of Emperor Akbar, the author of A'in-i-Akbari states that the population of the Zehri was 1,000 persons.

The Kurds of the Bolan Pass originally hail from Kurdistān. Since ages away from their motherland, they settled in the Kirmān province of Persia, and Rāhbur, a district to the south of Kirmān, was their headquarter[3]. The famous Sultān Salāh-ud-Dīn, the Crusader, belonged to the Zarzāzi clan of the Kurds[4] and it is curious to mention that among the Bolān Pass Kurds, a sub-clan of the tribe still bears the same name. In the middle of the 12th century the Kurds were overpowered by the Ghuz tribes and pushed back towards Bampur where they are still found in a great number.

1. MacGregor, in his "Central Asia" quoting from others, writes, that "the Langaos are said to have been originally slaves of the Rinds, enfranchised by the famed Chakar, on the occasion of his daughter's nuptials." This assertion according to the past Baluchi traditions conveyed to us through ballads, seems to carry some historical credit.
2. Sair Suhābah, Muhājirin, p. 129, by Hāji M'uīn-ud-Dīn Nadvi.
3. See "The Seljuks of Kirmān" by Muhammad Ibrāhim.
4. Ibn Kathīr, Part XII, p. 259; see also Ibn Athīr.

The ties that once held the Brahuis together, have loosened one by one and today the Brahuis are less homogeneous than even the Baluch and Pathan population. Sufficient signs of disintegration even thirty years back urged Mr. Bray to write :

> "Taking one thing with another, I am forced to the regretful conclusion that unless the many disintegrating influences are arrested and some counter influence, such as the purging and strengthening of the Jirga system, speedily arises to put new life into tribal and racial unity, the Brahoee tribes have seen their best days and that the Brahoee race is doomed in the future, let us hope the very distant future, to absorption into some more virile community."

Of all the people of Baluchistan, they are the truest highlanders and are nomadic of all the Asiatic people. The Brahui character is a blend of complex features. Pride, and cupidity are the code of his conduct. A man of fretful temper of punic faith, he seldom wins his spurs. A suspicious race by blood are hopelessly destitute of patriotism. "The Brahuis have only to see a bone" would often remark Naseer, 'the Great' "in your hand, and they will run like dogs from all sides for a bite[1]".

Generally they are described as "of middle size, square-built, and sinewy, with a sharp face, high cheek bones and long narrow eyes. His nose is thin and pointed. His manner is frank and open; though active, hardy, and roving he is incomparable with the Baluch as a warrior, but he makes a good scout . . . With a few exceptions the Brahui is mean, parsimonious and avaricious and he is exceedingly idle. He is predatory but not a pilferer, vindictive, but not treacherous and generally free from religious bigotry. His extreme ignorance is proverbial in the countryside[2]. A famous bard runs "If you have never seen ignorant hobgoblins and mountain-imps come and look at the Brahui[3]."

With regard to the military talents of Brahuis, we quote the words of General John Jacob: "Supposing recruits to be obtained from the elite of the Brahooees—the Bolan mountaineers . . . would be found in the highest degree injudicious and injurious . . . Every Brahooee whom we enlist is certainly a coward, a thief, or a traitor, or probably all three combined." We cite the words of an author who had the opportunity to pass few years of his life among the race. "He has," writes Bray, "little of the Pathan's pride of race and language. On the contrary, though he may naturally be chary of putting the admission into words, he usually accepts as a matter of course the claims of both Pathan and Baluch to be his superior race, and certainly displays a distinct alacrity to trace a non-Brahui descent whenever he can do so with decency. It is significant that no Baluch with proper pride would stoop to give his daughter in marriage to a Brahui, the Brahuis, needless to say, marries his daughter into a Baluch family without a scruple[4]".

1. "The Brahui Language", part I, p. 5, by D. Bray.
2. Seistan, a Memoir of the History, Topography, Ruins, and people of the Country, part IV, p. 367.
3. Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, Vol. VI-B, p. 102.
4. "The Brahui language", part I, p. 6; See also Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. I, p. 632.

APPENDIX

On page 26, it is mentioned that the indolent and supple Nabonidus in his life time relinquished his throne in favour of his minor son, Belshazzar, the last nominal king of Babylon. Nabonidus usurped the sceptre six years following the death of the doughty and presumptuous Nebuchadnezzar. Megasthenes[1]. (300 B.C.), the Greek historian, the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator at the court of the Indian king, Chandragupta, states that Nabucodrosorus (Nebuchadnezzar) was followed by three successors one after the other before Nabonidus ascended the unfortunate throne of Babylon. According to him Nabucodrosorus was succeeded by his son, Evilmaruchus (Evil-merodach) who was murdered by his near relative, Neriglisares, the father of Labassoarascus, who, too, met death by disgraceful violence. Nabannidochus (Nabonidus) succeeded Labassoarascus but he did not belong to the royal house[2]. The short lived rule of the three dough-faced and dough-kneaded rulers succeeding Nebuchadnezzar in quick and close succession, most probably, terminated within a period of six years. Josephus, following the Greek writers, mentions Nabonidus as the last ruler, whom Cyrus, the Achaemenian, had defeated and deported to Carmania where he spent the rest of his gloomy life in complete obscurity. But the canonical records of Babylon, mention the name of Belshazzar, and perhaps, this is correct as the Greeks were famous for their usual negligence of historical accuracy and the contradictory statements of the contemporary Greek historians of wide repute on various historical points is a positive proof of their carelessness about facts and figures.

Emperors Belus, the great monarch of the first Kaldian dynasty, as told by Megasthenes encompassed Babylon with a wall but it vanished away after a long period of nearly fifteen centuries and again Nabuchadnezzar walled it and it existed with its brazen gates till the invasion and conquest of the place by the Macedonian invader. Nabuchadnezzar, we are informed, built and fortified the historic town of Teredon as a check against the savage hordes of the neighbouring Arab Tribes who ever and anon invaded the neighbouring territories and rebelled against all authority[3].

After the collapse of the first Kushite-Kaldian dynasty between 1700-1600 B. C., we find an exotic dynasty of Indian blood, the royal house of Mitānni, who

1. The historical fragments of Magasthenes had been edited by E. A. Schwanbeck (Bonn 1846), aud also translated by McCrindle 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian' (Calcutta 877).
2. 'The Historians History of the world', by Henry Smith Williams, vol. I, P. 579.
3. Ibid, pp. 579-580.

deified the deities of Indra, Mithra, Varuna, and the Nasatya[1]. The Mitānni dynasty ruled over a part of upper Mesopotamia, and the name of a certain place is somewhat identical with the term Baluch. The territory from Carchemish on the Euphrates to the neighbourhood of the Tirgis, embracing the valleys of the Balich and Habur, besides the Nisibus territory which passed from the state of sovereignty to that of subjection, and on the east of the Tigris, Arrapkha (Kirkuk), once the princedom of the Hoorian rulers, too willingly submitted to the Mitānni yoke.

In Chapter XVI, the origin of Brahuis has been discussed but the origin of the real Brahui nucleus is a puzzle of history though we concluded that they belong to the Dravidian stock. We find a reference of an Indian tribe by Ameer Khusraw, the sainted poet, the ardent disciple of Hazrat Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliyā[2]. Mubārak Shah, the son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji ascended the throne of Delhi in the year 716 A.H., and was murdered in 720 A.H. by his most favourite courtier and commander, Khusraw Khān of Gujrāt who belonged to a community, named Parwārs by Barni and Barāwū or Barā'ū by Ameer Khusraw, who describes these Barā'ū with their black visages as a valiant people 'who know how to sacrifice their heads, as well as to cut apart those of their enemies'. It is possible that a section of the Barāwū or Barā'ū tribe might have migrated to Sind and thence moved on towards the neighbouring Kalāt mountains and settled in the Khuzdār valley. We find a close contact between the people of Sind, Gujrāt and Kutch (Māndvi). During the Arab rule of Sind, the Hindu rulers of Gujrāt were well-disposed towards their Muslim subjects, specially the Arabs[3]. Besides this, the Ghaznavid conqueror, Sultān Mahmūd, carried into captivity a host of Indian tribes from Gujrāt and many Indian tribes settled during that age in the far-flung Ghaznavid provinces, and, Khuzdār, served for a long time as a strong military base of the Ghazni rulers. We have stated before that the Brahuis planted their first colony around the Khuzdār valley. Perhaps the Brahui tribe might be a branch of the above mentioned Gujrāti community, the Barāwū or or Barā'ū of Ameer Khusraw. The Baluchi suffix is usually 'ی' i.e. 'i' and the plural of Barāwū is Barāwūi or Barā'ūi. Even today the Brahuis address themselves as Barāwoi.

1. 'An Encyclopedia of world History', compiled and edited by William L. Langer; revised edition 1952, P. 29. The Mitānni or Mithāni is a big tribe and are found in Bāhaw (Persian Baluchistan) and Sind. They are a distinct race of purely Indian origin and not of Indo-Iranian extraction as stated wrongly in the 'Encyclopedia of world History! They speak Sindi language.
2. See Taghlak Nāmeh and 'Ashīqa by Ameer Khusraw.
3. See the Chronicle of the Arabian globe-trotter, Suleymān, PP. 26,27. He completed his book in A.H. 235.

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3	Foot note 2	heresay	hearsay
6	8th	Bebo	Nebo
24	27th	government's	Governments,
27	10th (foot note)	Achaemanian	Achaemenian
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190	30th	no comma	Insert comma after Arabia,
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